MAN IN INDIA

VOL. 42 | JAN.-MARCH 1962 | NO. 1

OBITUARY

Bhupendra Nath Dutta

AMONG the few people in India who have turned to the Social Sciences not as career but to serve a graver purpose in life, Bhupendra Nath Dutta was one of the foremost, and perhaps also one of the earliest.

Youngest brother of Swami Vivekananda, born in 1880, he differed in some very striking respects from his elder. The former was steeped in mystic experiences with which he tried to water the garden of suffering humanity, while the other turned to the sciences so that they might be harnessed to approximately the same end. While Vivekananda was deeply conscious that he had rightly taken to the path of the Sannyasin which alone opened before him the gateway of human service, and through it of the Divine, Bhupendra Nath was perhaps equally confident that the true instrument of social change could only be furnished by the sciences of Psychology and Anthropology.

Bhupendra Nath Dutta joined the revolutionary movement in India under Sri Aurobindo in 1902. In 1907, he became the first editor of the revolutionary paper, Y u g a n t a r, and had very soon to leave the shores of India as a consequence. In 1909, Dutta joined the University of New York, from where he graduated in 1912. Sociology attracted him, and he joined the

Brown University to study under Professor Lester F. Ward. His admission to the A.M. degree was in 1913. After this he came to Chicago to study Sociology and Experimental Psychology. He was then a student of Professor Albion Small and Professor W. J. Thomas in Sociology and of Professor F. Starr in Anthropology.

Stormy years marked by the first world war followed, and 1919 found him in Berlin University studying Anthropology under Geheimrat Professor Felix von Luschan. The doctoral degree in Anthropology was, however, received in 1922 from the University of Hamburg. But already in 1920 he had been accepted as a Member of the Berlin Ethnological Society. In 1924, he became a Member of the German Asiatic Society and in 1925 of the Paris Anthropological Society.

Dr. Bhupendra Nath Dutta returned to India in 1925, and the late Syamaprasad Mookerjee tried to secure his services for the Department of Anthropology in the University of Calcutta. With political antecedents of a kind seriously disfavoured by the British rulers, this never became possible.

Since his return to India, Dr. Dutta devoted himself to writing two kinds of things. His memoirs on the history of the revolutionary movement are particularly valuable, not only because they came from one deeply involved in that movement, but because he brought to bear upon it a critical acumen and a fairness or impartiality which is of a singularly high order.

The other line of study was in connection with Indian society. In his social studies, Dr. Dutta constantly tried to understand the inner workings of Hindu society which he had made his mission in life to change. He felt that without adequate understanding of the historical processes involved in the growth of Indian society, one would perhaps never succeed in transforming it in the way one wished to.

Problems in Anthropology thus arose in his mind from life's experiences, and from the urgency of the desire which burned within him when confronted by the prevailing misery and ignorance. And thus Dr. Dutta's intellectual adventures became inspired by the richest of motivations which can ever

inspire the life of a scholar who is completely devoted to his science.

In his death, India has not only lost a great scholar, but an equally great patriot and humanist.

Dutta, Bhupendranath :—

Born 4 September 1880, Calcutta.

1902—Joined Freedom Movement inaugurated by Sri Aurobindo.

1907—Editor of *Yugantar*.

1909—Joined New York University as a Freshman and took 'Historical Scientific' group of studies.

1912 - A. B., New York University.

1913—Joined Brown University taking Sociology as a Major Course under Prof. Lester F. Ward and got A. M. in Social Science.

1914—Joined Chicago University and studied Sociology with Profs. Albion Small and W. J. Thomas and Anthropology with Prof. F. Starr.

1919—Joined Berlin University and studied Anthropology with Geheimrat Prof. Felix von Luschan.

1920—Member of Berlin Ethnological Society.

1922—Doctorate in Anthropology from Hamburg University.

1924—Member of German Asiatic Society.

1925—Member of Paris Anthropological Society.

1925—Returned to India and since then he had been investigating the cultural heritage of India from past records.

1961—25th December : Death in Calcutta.

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SOME OBSERVATIONS ON INDUSTRIALIZATION AND ITS EFFECTS ON TRIBAL LIFE*

NIRMAL KUMAR BOSE

(*Received on 9 January 1962*)

IN order to understand the present effects of industrialization clearly it is necessary to contrast them with what has been happening to tribal people under the influence of the Hindu economic and social organization.

In the past, as well as in places away from direct contact with towns or markets, when a tribal community came into contact with Hindu society organized on the basis of caste, the community tried to preserve its internal solidarity by living together and adjusting itself *as a group* to Hindu ways of life, unless it retired into deeper isolation in order to preserve the old ways of life. Quite often it began to make its living by specialized labour in a way which was supplementary to the productive arrangements under which its Hindu neighbours lived. The members might, for instance, become farmers or rope-manufacturers or basket-makers or gatherers of bees' wax, honey or jungle produce. After thus becoming a part and parcel of the peasant society, which thus became more and more elaborate by incorporation (as it also did by specialization and division), the former tribal community would try to define its rank in the caste heirarchy. The process of its transformation into a caste would become more or less complete when Brahman priests started serving them (or some upper class sections of the former community), and they virtually changed their ways of life in conformity with the 'superior' ways of the upper castes.

In the present context, what is significant is that the

*Summary of lecture at the Symposium in the Section of Anthropology and Archaeology, Indian Science Congress, Cuttack, 5 January 1962.

community adapts itself to the caste-structured peasant society as a whole, or in bits, as when one section slips off and becomes more thoroughly Hindu than the rest.

The process of transformation under the present impact of industrialization stands out sharply in contrast. A factory is built and it needs labourers. The tribal individual, like any other member of a peasant community, sees his chance of employment and goes to earn his living as a wage earner. There he goes alone, in his capacity as a seller of labour, and the community does not, on the whole, move together. Even if members of a whole village all become labourers, the people are not *regarded* as a community under the new conditions of employment; each one sells his labour in an open competitive market; each is treated on the basis of his individual worth.

It should be pointed out at this stage that sometimes the old ties persist to some extent, so that members of the village, or of the kin group, or those who speak a common language try to give one another a little support. But such endeavours only serve to temper or soften down the effects of open competition. The old ties which spring from their former social organization act as a pad protecting the weaker individual from the onslaughts of open competition.

The contrast between the two processess is thus sharp and clear, namely, that in the former the community is treated as such even when it adapts itself to the Hindu productive organization. In the other, old ties are more or less dissolved and the individual is released as an emancipated unit to take his place in a competitive productive organization.

As has been said, the contrast is clear, in spite of the padding of community feelings which are left over from the past.

The question is, why has so much been left over from the past, and why does not the present pace of industrialization dissolve the old ties of kin, neighbourhood, caste or language loyalties fast enough ?

An answer might be attempted.

India first became industrialized under colonial conditions.

At every stage, both economic as well as political, its pace was hampered. After independence, there is an earnest desire in the minds of India's national leaders to quickly industrialize and modernize India. This is being done largely by means of loans and aids from outside. The industrialization of India has almost become a political concern of both the 'Free' as well as of the 'Socialist' world.

The result is, the Indian community as a whole does not yet look upon this as its *own* job ; it is regarded as the job of the 'Government', i.e. of political leaders and of the ruling Party.

England went through a long process of dissolution of rural ties as it tried earnestly to transform itself by means of its own labours, even though the labours were supplemented by the sinful gains of conquests overseas. But then the conquests were paid for by the blood and toil of Englishmen. In any case, the attitude of Indian society to present economic transformation and of English society in the past are in sharp contrast with one another.

The Indian peasant feels that the 'emancipation' of individuals from the duties and rights which belong to him in caste society is not always good. It makes a man individualistic, selfish, utterly oblivious of social responsibilities. The previous set of values offered protection, were based upon mutual aid to some extent, and all that passes as modern is glamorous but harsh and cruel at the base.

As the process of industrialization has been launched under unhappy auspices, and is largely built upon foreign loans and gifts and has not yet become the nation's own concern, there is a desire to carry over some of the values of the past, which naturally get mixed up and impede the transformation of society under a new set of values. Bits of what was organic in the past are left over as grit within the wheels of the present system and impede its smooth movement.

How does the present situation show up in the tribal world of India ? A member of a tribal community becomes individualized, turns into a labour—seller, and yet has to protect himself or his economic interest. Trade unions are formed ;

and these unhappily become Adibasi unions, Bihari unions and the like. This is not so always openly, but in the inner working of unions, yes. Trade unions become subject to communal manipulations, not on the party or ideological level, but on communal level of one kind or another.

In the upper reaches of capitalistic organization, this has led to the formation of British chambers of commerce, or Marwari chambers of commerce or Muslim chambers of commerce.*

As tribal communities are brought rapidly under the influence of industrialization in contrast to the slower transformation under the influence of caste, they thus first become comparatively individualized and then communally minded in order to protect their economic interests.

In Chota Nagpur, this has been leading to an increased awareness of Adivasi communities of their separateness from the 'aliens' or the D i k k u, and also to a slower process of consolidation among various Adivasi communities themselves. The latter is like the growth of a 'national' unity among tribal peoples.

It is possible that this would lead towards two developments. Differences with the 'rest' are likely to become accentuated, while there may arise within the u n i fi e d tribal 'nation', a division into 'leaders' and 'led'. The 'leaders' are likely to be those who modernize themselves and the 'led' would be the poorer classes of peasants and labourers who speak the language of the leaders. Language differences with the rest of their neighbours may be sharpened by artificial means, which are likely to be interpreted as due to the demands of 'national' (although really communal) unification.

The separatism of the Muslims in India from 1909 to 1947, the rise of the Dravida Kazhagham movement have all lessons for anticipating what is already in process in tribal India under the impact of industrialization.

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*See Bose, N. K., 'Social and Cultural Life of Calcutta', *Geographical Review of India,* 1958, vol. 20, p. 32.

It has been my purpose to diagnose the disease, not to suggest possible remedies. Perhaps it would be wrong to leave without suggesting any remedy at all, although one fears that the remedy may be a quack's remedy.

Under the present stress of industrialization people from many communities are being cast into a common pool of identical economic interests. If we could positively organize them on the basis of such economic interests irrespective of caste, language and place of origin, and forestall fractional unifications on a communal level, it would be one kind of preventive treatment.

Then there remains the larger issue of making the process of modernization the whole nation's own concern, and not the concern of our political leaders and of those great powers which wish to retain us on friendly terms in anticipation of dark days into which the whole world might be plunged in future.

But that in itself is a tall order. And a remedy need not be suggested in our present forgetful onrush towards modernization except by drawing attention to what Gandhiji said during 1939 when a National Planning Committee was established under the chairmanship of Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru. He asked India to industrialize herself by sternly refusing to depend on loans, but by reliance upon her own efforts and resources. Any wealth possessed by an Indian was to go into a common pool whenever required for purposes of national development.

And Gandhi thought that India would be able to accomplish this if half or more than half the cost of modernization is cut down by eschewing arms for the defence of one's values. Indeed he spent a lifetime in trying to teach India how to defend herself by the organization of collective non-violence.

PALAEOLITHS FROM MANBHUM AND SINGHBHUM*

D. Sen, G. S. Ray, A. K. Ghosh.

(*Received on 9 January 1962*)

IN 1950-51 S. Sinha[1] discovered a large number of tools near Nimdih in South Manbhum in course of his field-work in Social Anthropology among the Bhumij. The collection of tools was later handed over to the Prehistory Museum of the Department of Anthropology, Calcutta University. In 1953-54 more artifactual data were added from the same area by the first two authors.

All the tools are from Chandil and Nimdih area, originally in Manbhum District, but now transferred to the District of Singhbhum. The tool localities now fall under Saraikela Sub-division, which forms the northern boundary of the present Singhbhum District.

Geologically, this area is comprised within the southern belt of Manbhum as described by E. W. Verdenburg.[2] According to him, the whole of old Manbhum can be divided into three geological belts, namely the northern belt, the middle belt and the southern belt. The northern belt is formed by the two great coal-basins of Ranigunj and Jharia. The intervening tract which separates them along with the middle belt is occupied by crystalline rocks. The southern belt which includes the area under review, geologically comprises a series of ancient slates associated with volcanic rocks. The latter fall under the Dharwar System of Indian Geology. The Dharwar here forms

* According to the Report of the States Reorganisation Commission in 1956, parts of the previous Manbhum District came over to Singhbhum District.

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the main outcrop. It consists of quartzites, quartzitic sandstones, various kinds of slates, shales and schists. In the regular sequence of the Dharwar, chlorite schists and pot stones accompanied by horblendic rocks and quartzites form the lowest strata. The Dalma trap separates south Manbhum from north Singhbhum. In the Dharwar, there is the notable presence of distinctly bedded siliceous rock, particularly black chert. Among the palaeolithic tools found in Nimdih and Chandil, there is a specimen which is made of black chert. Laterite occurs all over Manbhum, though it is somewhat concentrated on the easternmost border.

The artifacts are found near Nimdih on high flat grounds adjoining local hillocks and on the banks of rivulets. Some of the tools are found associated with scree deposit, found on the high grounds.

The total collection consists of 44 specimens. The tools may be classified on the basis of patination and weathering into two main groups. They are as follows :—

Stage I—Rolled and deeply patinated tools of cruder type.

Stage II—More or less fresh and slightly patinated tools of finer type.

Of these, the cruder artifacts belonging to Stage I seem to be earlier, as revealed from the patination, weathering and the technique employed. No stratigraphic sequence however has been observed.

The chief material employed for tool-making is mainly coarse to fine-grained quartzite. There are only 3 tools made on quartz and one specimen on black chert as mentioned before. These four implements belong to Stage II.

Implements that could be classified as pebble tools are so far absent. Here the tools are made either on core or on flake. Numerically they are equally divided ; out of the total collection of 44 specimens, 22 are on core and the remaining 22 are on flake.

In both the stages, there are three main tool-families—the chopper (both unifacial and partly bifacial), the handaxe and the cleaver. Associated with these, a few utilized flakes occur.

The following table shows the number of respective types in Stage I and Stage II.

Types	No. of tools in Stage I	No. of tools in Stage II	Total
Core	×	1	1
Chopper on core	4	×	4
Chopper on flake	4	×	4
Handaxe on core	10	6	16
Handaxe on flake	5	2	7
Cleaver on core	×	1	1
Cleaver on flake	4	3	7
Scraper on flake	×	1	1
Utilized flakes	3	×	3
Total	30	14	44

In Stage I, the core tools so far are greater in number than those in Stage II. The number of artifacts of Stage I totals 30, of which 8 are choppers (2 unifacial and 6 bifacial), 15 handaxes and 4 cleavers, the remaining 3 are utilized flakes. Ten implements which are typical, have been selected to illustrate the Stage I assemblage. The following is a detailed description of the same.

(The tools are made on quartzite unless otherwise stated.)

No. 1. (MN-23). Maximum length 106 mm., maximum breadth 97 mm. and maximum thickness 42 mm.

Rounded chopper on flake. The ventral surface is the main flake surface, without any retouch. The dorsal surface shows large alternate flake scars. The rounded cutting edge is formed by the intersection of marginal flake scars with the flat ventral surface. Striking platform is unfacetted. The flake scars are rolled. The cross-section is plano-convex.

No 2. (MN-19). Maximum length 122 mm., maximum breadth 122 mm. and maximum thickness 63 mm.

Rounded chopper on core. The flakings extend all round on both the surfaces. The flake scars are alternate to form a jagged edge. The flakings on the ventral surface are somewhat finer. It is biconvex in cross-section.

No 3. (MN-15). Maximum length 115 mm., maximum breadth 76 mm. and maximum thickness 40 mm.

Crude handaxe on rough core. Flaked on both the surfaces, flaking extending to the butt end. It is asymmetrical in form, one of the margins being curved while the other margin is more or less straight. Typologically it resembles the the Abbevellian type.

No. 4 (*MN-2*). Maximum length 180 mm., maximum breadth 97 mm. and maximum thickness 66 mm.

Very large cleaver-like tool on core. One end of the block has been trimmed by bold free flaking to form the cutting edge, while the opposite end is left unworked, showing the original cortical surface. The tool is abraded, but the flake scars are well defined. The most notable feature is that the sharp working edge is short and slightly convex. It is not a true cleaver. It can be described as a cleaver-like of handaxe. It is biconvex in cross-section.

No. 5 (MN-28). Maximum length 144 mm., maximum breadth 85 mm. and maximum thickness 50 mm.

Rolled cleaver-like tool on flake. The ventral surface is the main flake surface without any secondary work. Primary flake scars, few in number, are well defined on the anterior half of the dorsal surface. The posterior half is unflaked showing cortical surface. Just at the butt-end, a few secondary flake scars are noticed. There is a keel at the postero-dorsal surface, resulting in a triangular cross-section. The pointed working end is quite sharp. This specimen is somewhat more evolved than No. 4.

No. 6 (*MN-34*). Maximum length 85 mm.., maximum breadth 58 mm. and maximum thickness 32 mm.

More or less allied to No. 5, flaked all over the dorsal surface. The secondary flakings are very few in number. Unlike No. 5 the ventral surface shows some large flake scars. It is sharp throughout the margin. The pointed end has a fracture.

No. 7 (*MN-7*). Maximum length 120 mm., maximum breadth 90 mm. and maximum thickness 47 mm.

A cleaver on flake with rounded butt. It is U-shaped in

form. On the dorsal surface there are some large flakings, mainly near the cutting edge. The anteriormost flake scar is large and it is sharply bevelled. The sharp cutting edge is formed by the intersection of this bevelled surface with the flat main flake surface on the ventral side. The cortical surface is left on the dorsal surface excepting the anterior and posterior ends. The cleaver edge is as wide as the maximum breadth of the tool. It is rectangular in outline with trapezoidal cross-section.

No. 8 (MN-8). Maximum length 155 mm., maximum breadth 95 mm. and maximum thickness 40 mm.

A cleaver on flake, somewhat more evolved than specimen No. 7. Here also the ventral surface is the main flake surface, without any secondary flakings. The dorsal surface is provided with several flake scars near the butt-end There is a large facet at the cutting end. It is V-shaped in form with oblique working edge. The cutting edge is definitely the broadest part of the tool. The cross-section is trapezoidal as in No. 7. It is severely worn at the left margin.

No. 9 (MN-14). Maximum length 89 mm., maximum breadth 68 mm. and maximum thickness 33 mm.

Small cleaver on flake. The ventral surface is fully covered by secondary flakings. A few step flakings are also present on one of the lateral margins. The form of the cleaver is U-shaped. The greatest thickness is at the butt-end, and on the dorsal surface it gradually slopes down towards the cutting edge. The lateral margins are blunted to form a trapezoidal cross-section. Bevelled flake scar on the ventral surface intersects with the steep flake-scar on the dorsal to form a slightly concave transverse cutting end.

No. 10 (MN-21). Maximum length 85 mm., maximum breadth 54 mm. and maximum thickness 23 mm.

A flake of typical Clactonian type, with unfacetted striking platform and obtuse angle formed by the platform and the ventral surface. The main ventral flake surface is without any secondary work. The tool is weathered to a great extent but the bulb of percussion is prominent. The flake is subtriangular in form. On the dorsal surface there are a few

flake scars. The cutting edge at the lateral margin is convex. There is a mid-rib on the dorsal surface for which the cross-section is triangular.

The remaining two utilized flakes are more or less similar to the previous specimen excepting that there are some secondary flake scars at the end opposite the bulb of percussion. All these are scrapers of cruder variety.

Next come the tools of Stage II. They are 14 in number, nearly half of Series I. The variation in number need not be taken into consideration, as further exploration may reveal more tools. Out of the 14 specimens belonging to Stage II, there are eight handaxes and four cleavers Six tools have been selected to illustrate the Series II assemblage.

No. 11 (MN-35). Maximum length 105 mm., maximum breadth 92 mm. and maximum thickness 53 mm.

This is the only specimen in the collection made from black chert. It is a tortoise core, discoidal in shape with highly convex dorsal surface fully covered with long parallel scars all round. The under surface is flat and unworked. The cross-section is plano-convex.

No. 12 (MN-30). Maximum length 96 mm., maximum breadth 90 mm. and maximum thickness 36 mm.

Discoidal scraper on flake. It is comparatively thin. Ventral surface is the main flake surface with a prominent bulb of percussion. The striking platform is facetted. At the working edge there are marks of fracture, probably due to utilization.

No. 13 (MN-37). Maximum length 157 mm., maximum breadth 85 mm. and maximum thickness 43 mm.

Well-made pear-shaped handaxe. The cutting edge is extended throughout the lateral margins. It is worked all over the surfaces. It is thickest at the middle and thin on the margins. The line of profile is jagged and continuous with the line of butt. There is a recent natural fracture at the pointed end. Three quartzite specimens of this collection are typologically similar to this tool.

No. 14 (MN-17). Maximum length 112 mm., maximum breadth 79 mm. and maximum thickness 36 mm.

Oval handaxe. Besides the free flakings, prominent step flakings are found on both the dorsal and ventral surfaces. The profile shows S-twist with well-marked sharp edge. Secondary trimmings are concentrated on the lateral margins. The medial cross-section is biconvex, while it is flat at the anterior end due to the presence of large flake scars. Both in technique and typology, it is an evolved tool, recalling Mid-Acheulian type.

No 15 (MN-9). Maximum length 122 mm., maximum breadth 80 mm. and maximum thickness 36 mm.

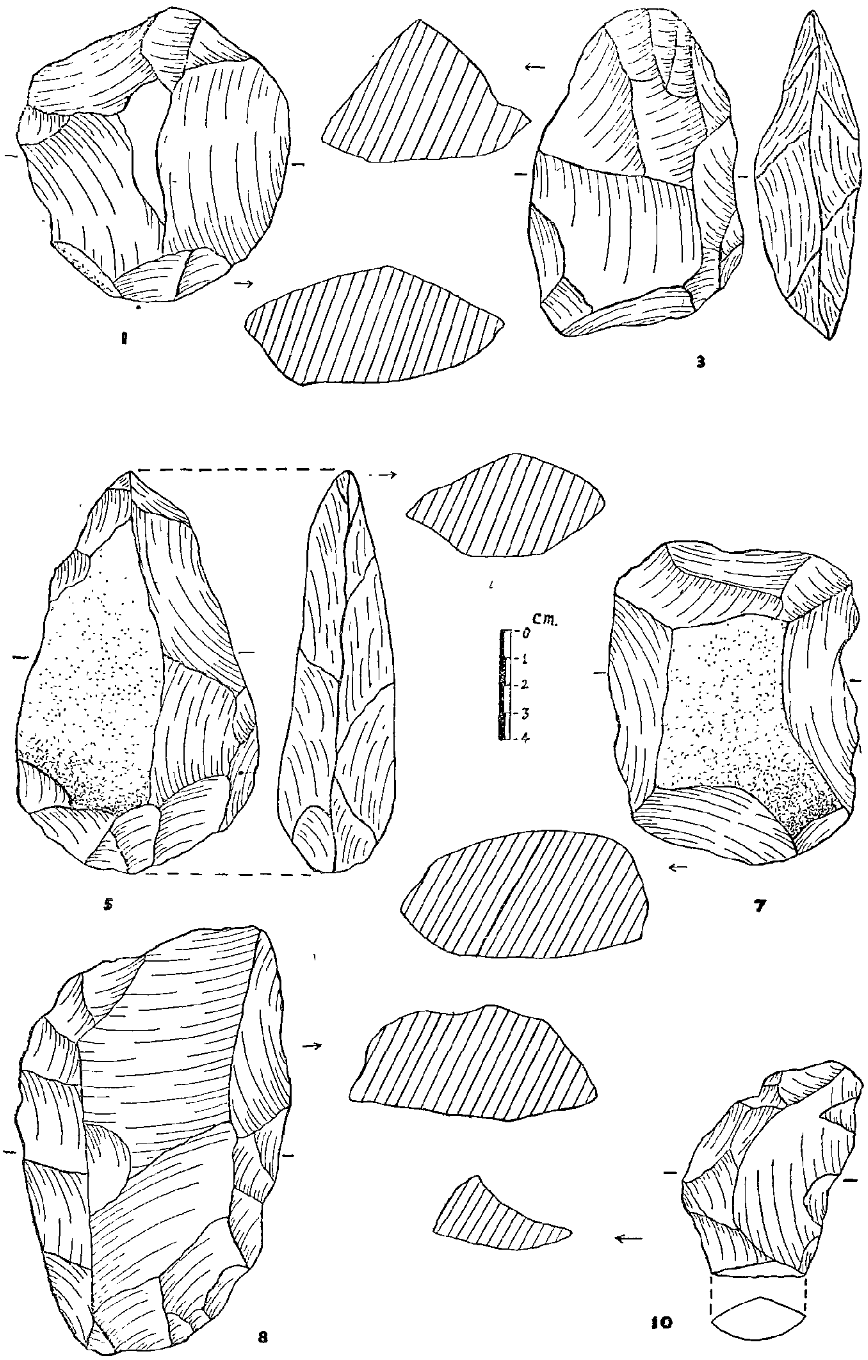
U-shaped cleaver, with both the dorsal and ventral surfaces fully flaked. At the working edge, the bevelled edge is formed by the removal of a large flake scar on the dorsal surface. The ventral surface is also bevelled. The cutting edge is sharp and slightly convex and is shorter than the maximum breadth of the tool.

No. 16 (MN-22). Maximum length 126 mm., maximum breadth 80 mm. and maximum thickness 36 mm.

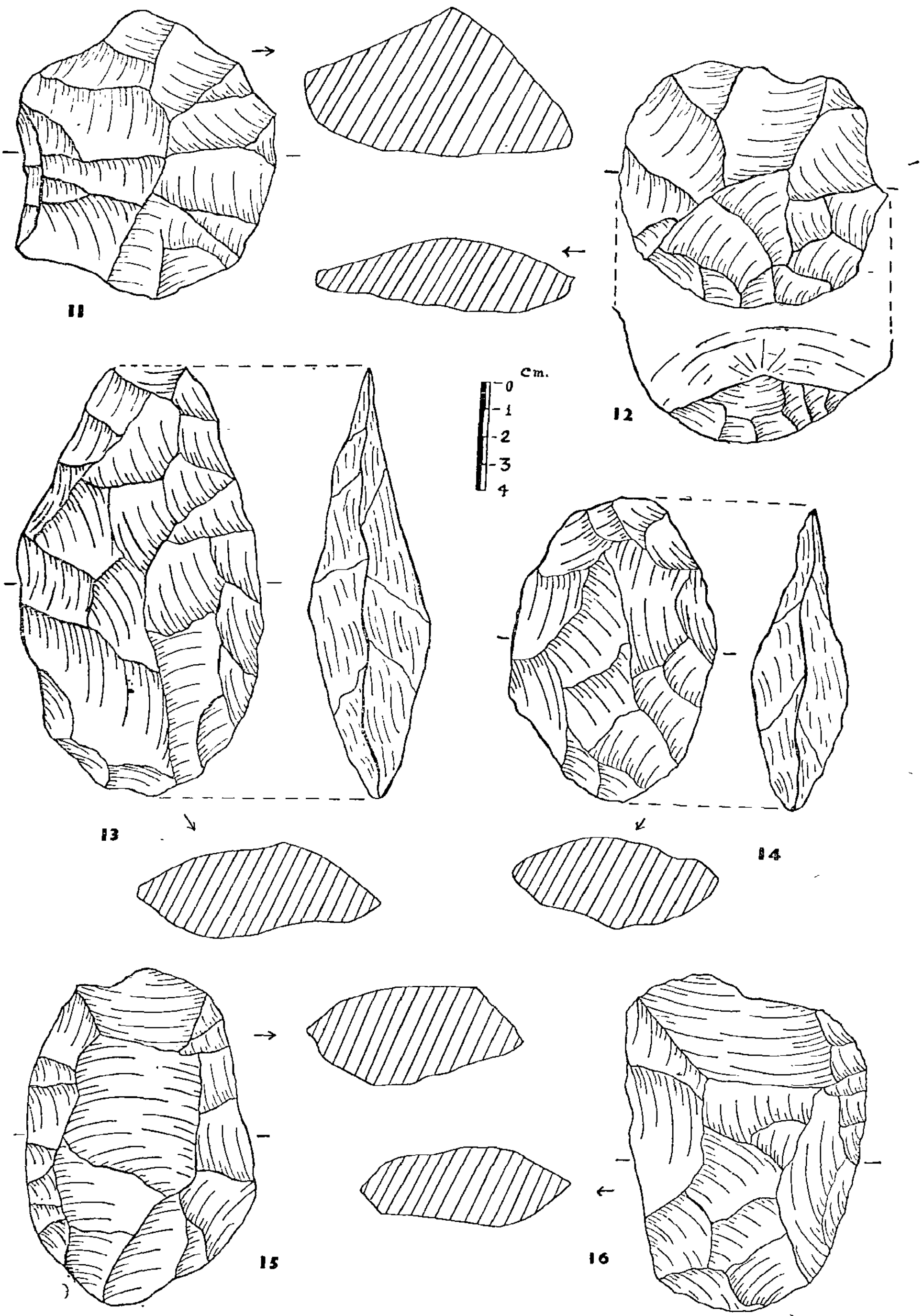
U-shaped cleaver, with slight divergence at the left lateral margin. The butt-end is rounded. The dorsal surface is well-flaked. The marginal flakings are so disposed as to form a parallelogram cross-section. At the anterior end, a large flake scar is sharply bevelled. The main flake surface on the ventral side shows some flake scars only at the butt end. The cutting edge is oblique. The fracture at the cutting edge is probably due to utilization. The maximum breadth of the tool is at the cutting edge.

Discussion

From the description given above, it appears that typologically Stage I belongs to Abbevellio-Acheulian series and Stage II to Acheulian series. Some evolutionary trends of typology and technique may be observed linking Stage I with Stage II. The massive and cruder forms become lighter and finer. Choppers, handaxes and cleavers are the main tool types found in both the Stages. On the whole, the handaxe dominates over the other types. Handaxes are 23 in number out of the total collection of 44 specimens.



Assemblage of Stage I tools.



Assemblage of Stage II tools.

K. P. Oakley[3] pointed out that 'the commonly used white quartz consisting of crystals matted together, breaks irregularly, and is a most difficult stone to work.' Here in this collection three specimens of the handaxe of evolved type are made on white vein-quartz. The flake scars are not so prominent as those in quartzite specimens due to the hard and compact texture of quartz.

The palaeoliths from Chaibasa[4] in Singhbhum District, situated at a distance of about 35 miles from this area reveal similar typology. The only difference is that the pebble tools which occur in Chaibasa are lacking here. Jasper tools which are characteristic of Chaibasa are so far absent in this area. The difference in tool-making material is geologically conditioned.

This collection is worth a comparison with the palaeolithic tools found in the District of Mayurbhanj[5] in Orissa situated south of Singhbhum District. The Mayurbhanj industry is mainly a core tool industry, associated with pebbles and flakes. The main types are choppers, handaxes, cleavers and scrapers. Of these, handaxes and choppers predominate. Flake tools are very few, and they resemble Clactonian forms. The general sequence there is from cruder handaxes and choppers to finer bifaces[6]. This agrees also in the case of the Manbhum specimens from Stage I to Stage II. But the sequence is not stratigraphically established here as the implements are surface finds.

The Manbhum specimens have also a certain amount of resemblance with the Madrasian Industry[7]. The Vadamadurai tools, falling into three main groups, range from the Abbevellian to Late Acheulian types. Numerous fresh cleavers from Attrampakkam with parallelogram cross-sections correspond to the third group (Late Acheulian) of Vadamadurai. This also fits in with the cleavers from Manbhum. The cleavers here are similar in form and technique to those of Attrampakkam.

Further field-work in Manbhum is being taken up. Exploration for stratified sections and in-situ lithic finds may throw some light on the relative dating of the implements from

the scree deposits. The microlithic[8] and neolithic[9] sites in Manbhum also need further examination. Intensive work in this area may reveal a culture sequence from palaeolithic to neolithic times.

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HUMAN REMAINS EXCAVATED FROM MEGALITHS AT YELLESWARAM (ANDHRA PRADESH)

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(*Received on 1 January 1962*)

Introduction

MEGALITHIC human skeletal remains excavated at Yelleswaram during the field-seasons of 1958-59, were examined in the laboratory of the State Archaeology Department at Hyderabad by the present writers in the month of April, 1961. Yelleswaram, a megalithic site of Andhra Pradesh in the District of Nalgonda, is situated on the left bank of the Krishna and lies opposite the famous archaeological site of Nagarjunakonda.

Altogether, six skulls and some long bones were studied, of which four were represented by calva only, while the remaining two were better preserved in somewhat complete form. Brief notes on morphological observations, measurements and craniogram drawings are presented here. The measurements were taken according to the standard technique of Martin (Martin and Saller, 1956). Of the six skulls examined and reported here three are male and the remaining three are female.

Craniometric and osteometric data are appended in tables 1 to 5.

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The work was conducted under the auspices of the Anthropological Survey of India for the purpose of comparison with the Nagarjunakonda Megalithic human remains now under study by the present writers. The two sites are situated on opposite banks of the Krishna. The publication is through the kind permission of the Director, Anthropological Survey of India, Government of India.

The following skulls are here reported upon :

(1) Veera Byina Kunta, Meg. I, Skull No. 7. from West Cist. (2) V. B. K., Meg. I, Skull No. 12 in Heap No. 5. from East Cist. (3) V. B. K., Meg. III, Skull No. 1 in Heap No. 1. (4) V. B. K., Meg. III, Skull No. 2 in Heap No. 1. (5) V. B. K., Meg. I, Skull No. 4 in Heap No. 3 from West Cist. (6) V. B. K., Meg. III, Skull No. 4.

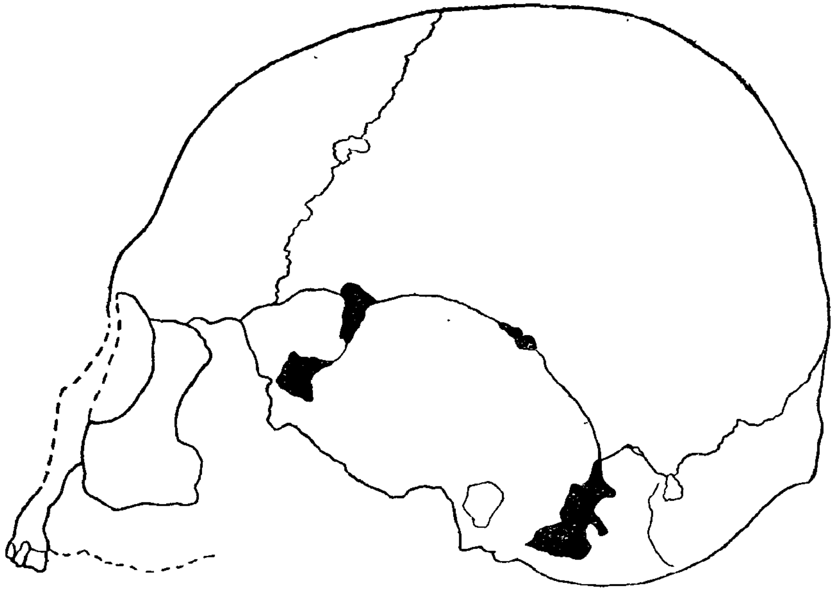
Another skull (V.B.K., Meg. II) consisting only of fragments of occipital and parietal region appears to belong to a male. The bones are very thick. Maximum thickness of parietal is 12 mm, at the level of internal occipital crest 15 mm and at the level of external occipital crest 17 mm.

In the burials heads were placed towards the north.

Observation

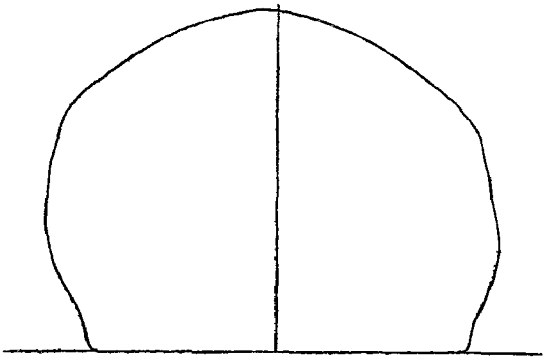
Meg. 1. Skull No. 7 (Pls. I, II and III)

The skull belongs to an adult male of advanced age. It is in a semi-mineralized condition, the ectocranial surface being pitted and warped. The skull is massive and thick having well-marked supraorbital ridges, big mastoid (right) and strong muscular impressions especially



Dioptograph drawing of Meg. I. Skull No. 7

in the nuchal region. Vault sutures are more or less closed. The skull is brachycranic, having a length of 175 mm and breadth of 141 mm ; the length-breadth index thus being 80.57. The height of the skull is 134 mm, the length-height and breadth-height indices being 76.57 and 95.04, which fall in hypsicranic and tapeinocranic classes respectively. The auricular height being 118 (?) mm, the length-auricular height index is 67.43, while the breadth-auricular height index is 83.69, which fall in the hypsicranic and metriocranic classes respectively. The cranial capacity is 1422.09 cm^3, estimated according to Lee and Pearson's (1901) formula.

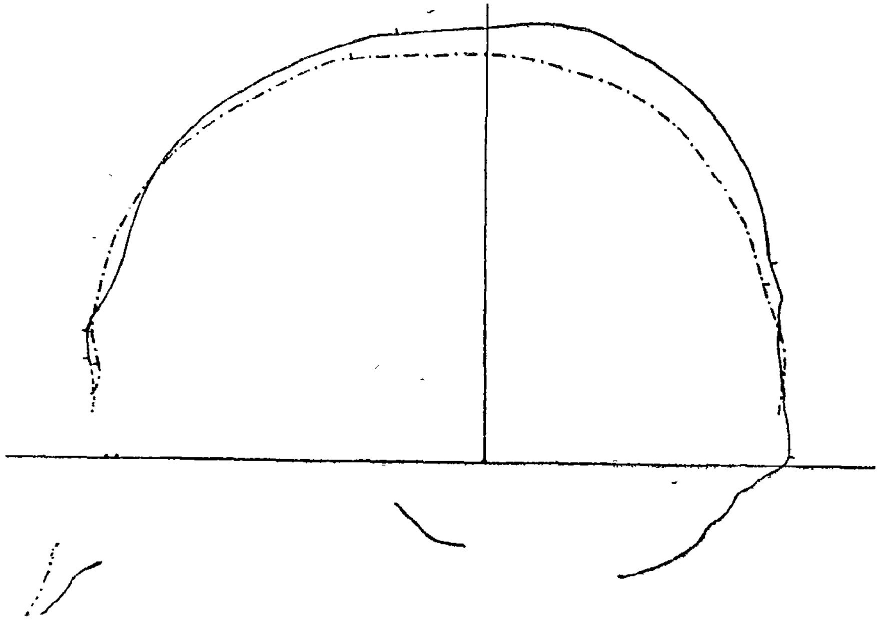


Transverse cranial contour
Meg. I. Skull No. 7

The auditory meatus position index (Sewell and Guha 1931) is 57.11, indicating a greater pre-auricular development of the skull than post-auricular. When viewed from above, the skull gives an outline of 'byrsoides' of Sergi. There are traces of closure of vault sutures. The forehead is slightly receding, low in height and medium in breadth. The skull vault is not well-arched but rather flattish, and the occiput is flat (*Abgahacŧ*) having well-defined muscular impressions. Pterion is fronto-temporal on both the sides. Supramastoid crests are prominent, but the temporal lines are not so well marked. Temporal is 'well-filled'. Facial prognathism could be observed to a slight degree, while subnasal prognathism is absent. Orbits are rectangular, extend laterally and downwards and are chamaeconchic, the mean orbital index being 67.76. Supraorbital transverse furrow is

present. Malar bones are spread out and flattish. Zygomatic arches are absent. Nasal root is broad and moderately depressed.

The dental arcade is paraboloid. Glenoid cavities are deep. Upper third molars have cut and the crown of the existing teeth are worn down. Some amount of absorption is noticed in the alveolar margin.



Male ———
Female—.—.—

Fig. A Superimposition of Sagittal contours of male (Meg. I. Skull 7) and female (Meg. I Skull 12)

Mid-sagittal contour of the female skull (Meg. I, Skull 12) is superimposed on the male skull (Meg. I, Skull 7). The similarity of the contours is noteworthy. (Fig. A)

Meg. 1. Skull No. 12 (Pls. III. Fig. 2 and Pl. IV. Figs 1 & 2)

The skull is eroded and semi-mineralized, belonging to an adult female of about 30 years of age. It is relatively smaller and smooth-contoured, having weak supraorbital ridges, small mastoids and ill-marked muscular impressions. The skull is 169 mm long and 130 mm broad, having a length-breadth

index of 76.92 (mesocranic). Its auricular height being 111 mm the length-auricular-height and breadth-auricular-height indices are 65.68 and 85.38, which are hypsicranic and metriocranic respectively. The cranial capacity is 1210.90 cm^3, calculated according to Lee and Pearson's formula.

The contour of the n o r m a v e r t i c a l i s corresponds with Sergi's 'ovoides' type. The forehead is low in height and medium in breadth and rises vertically upto ophryon wherefrom the mid-sagittal contour gradually takes a full curve posteriorly and ends at the missing occipital part. The pterion is fronto-temporal at the left side (right region missing). The vault sutures are usually serrated and trace of commencing of synostosis is observed on the sagittal suture. Orbit (left) is somewhat rectangular, and falls in the mesoconch class, the index being 76.32. Supraorbital furrow is absent. Malars are submedium and without the zygomatic arches. Nasal bones are medium broad and the nasal root is not depressed. The glenoid cavities are deep and broad.

Meg. I. Skull No. 4 (Pl. V Fig 1.)

The skull belongs to a female below 30 years of age. It is only represented by pieces of calva which could be restored. The forehead is vertical, low in height and medium in breadth. The contour of the vault is well-arched and the vault sutures are open. In the absence of glabella the maximum cranial length could not be measured but the skull appears to be *brachoid.*

Meg. III. Skull No. 1 (Pl. VI Fig 1.)

The skull belongs to that of a male below 30 years of age at death. It is brachycranic, L-B index being 81.72(?). The skull is warped and is represented only by fragmentary parts of the calva, without both the lateral walls and the inferior occipital region. Unfortunately, very few measurements could be taken on the restored calva. The skull appears to be very broad. Seen from above, the contour of the n o r m a v e r t i c a l i s roughly corresponds with that of Sergi's 'byrsoides' type. The bones are heavy and thick. The forehead is low, broad and retreating with traces of supraorbital ridges. The skull

is medium vaulted and flat-roofed having a flattened occiput. The vault sutures are open. The surviving left frontal border of the orbit is very blunt.

Meg. III. Skull No 2 (Pl. VI Fig 2.)

The skull belongs to an adult male and is quite similar in form to skull No. 1 of Meg. III. The skull is hyper-brachycranic, L-B index being 89.09(?). The skull is in a poor state of preservation and represented by the fragmentary parts of calva without its lateral side walls and inferior portion of occipital region. The fragmentary parts of the skull cap could be joined together and a very few measurements could be taken on it. The bones are comparatively very thick. The supraorbital ridges are well developed. The receding forehead is low in height and medium in breadth. The skull vault is low-roofed and flat. The vault sutures are open. The contour of the norma verticalis corresponds with Sergi's 'byrsoides' type.

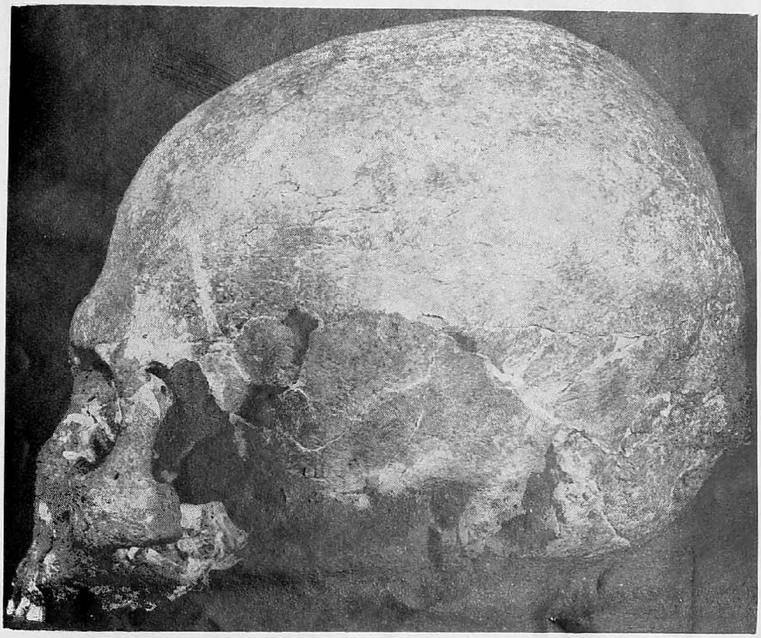
Meg. III, Skull No. 4 (Pl. V Fig. 2)

Only pieces of a female calva are present. The skull cap is smooth-contoured and 'sphenoides' in outline. Forehead is low and vertical. The bones are comparatively thick. Lambdoidal suture is open. Only the maximum cranial length and breadth could be measured, which are 173(?) mm and 128 mm respectively, yielding a cranial index of 74, very near mesocranic.

Other Skeletal Parts

The other skeletal parts which could be examined and measured appear to belong to different individuals. These were obtained from Meg. I, Heap III. They comprise two clavicles—one of right side and the other of left, two humerii—one of the right and the other of left, two radii—one left and the other right, three femora—two of right and one of left and one tibia of left side. The bones could not be associated with any of the skulls described here as these were recovered from a heap of bones. The morphology of the bones indicates robustness and strong physical constitution of the individuals.

PLATE I



Norma Lateralis
Meg. I. Skull No. 7

Photographs by courtesy
State Archaeology Department, Andhra Pradesh
Blocks of the plates by courtesy
Anthropological Survey of India

PLATE II

Norma Frontalis
Meg. I. Skull No. 7

Norma Occipitalis
Meg. I. Skull No. 7

PLATE III

Fig. 1 Norma Verticalis
Meg. I. Skull No. 7

Fig. 2 Norma Facialis
Meg. I. Skull No. 12

PLATE IV

Fig. 1 Norma Lateralis
Meg. I. Skull No. 12

Fig. 2 Norma Verticalis
Meg. I. Skull No. 12

PLATE V

Fig. 1 Norma Lateralis
Meg. I. Skull No. 4

Fig. 2 Norma Verticalis
Meg. III. Skull No. 4

PLATE VI

Fig. 1 Norma Verticalis
Meg. III. Skull No. 1

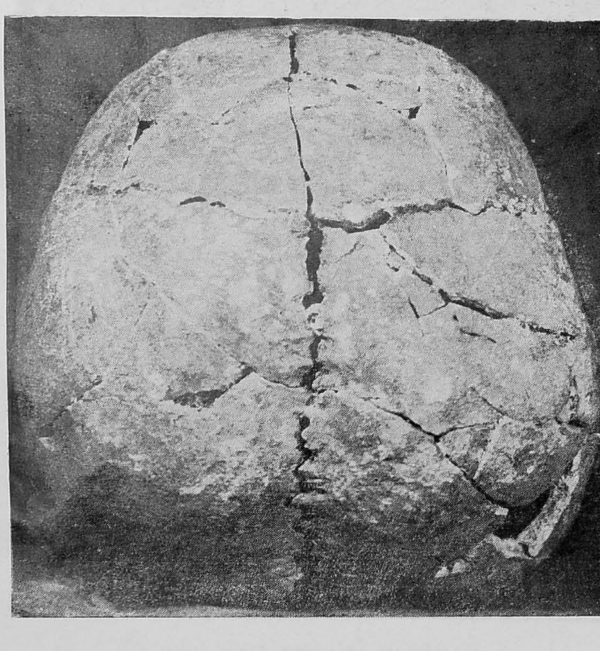


Fig. 2 Norma Verticalis
Meg. III. Skull No. 2

Human remains on a stone slab in a megalithic cist-burial at Yelleswaram (Andhra Pradesh)

The available measurements and indices are furnished in table 5. The platymeric index shows that all femora are eurymeric, which is indicative of normal femora (Wilder 1920).

Estimation of Stature

Three dried long bones of Heap No. III belonging to Meg. I could be utilized for estimation of living stature by applying Pearson's (1899) as well as Dupertuis and Hadden's (1951) general formulae. The three bones of adult male which are considered here for the purpose might not have belonged to a single individual. Assuming that each bone represents separate individuals, we find :

Name of bone	Maximum length	Estimation † Pearson	Estimation † Dupertuis and Hadden	Difference of two estimations
Radius (R)*	257 mm.	169.9887	174.2100	4.2203
Femur (R)	495 mm.	174.3660	179.8700	5.5040
Tibia (L)	425 mm.	179·6440	183.3480	3.7040
Mean :		174.6665	179.1426	4.4761

The estimated living stature being 1746.66 mm (Pearson) and 1791.43 mm (Dupertuis and Hadden) are distributed between 'above medium' to 'tall' group.

Discussion

The material comprises three adult males and three adult females. Of the six skulls examined, two belonging to opposite sexes are somewhat complete in form, on which a number of dependable measurements could be taken, whilst the remaining four skulls are represented by incomplete calva. Generally, the skulls are massive, rugged and the bones are thick. Of the three male skulls, one is hyperbrachycranic and two are brachycranic. Among the two female skulls one is mesocranic and the other one is dolichocranic, but nearer to mesocranic ; the latter being in fractured condition, its index is not very reliable. The index of another female skull could not be

* R=Right side † cm
L=Left side

worked out, but it appears to be brachycranic. The cranial index of the skulls are given below :

	Meg. I. Skull 7 Male	Meg. I. Skull 12 Female	Meg. III Skull 1 Male	Meg. III Skull 2 Male	Meg. III Skull 4 Female
L-B Index	80.57	76.92	81.73?	89.09?	74

One male and one female skull are hypsicranial ; in others this index could not be worked out due to absence of landmarks.

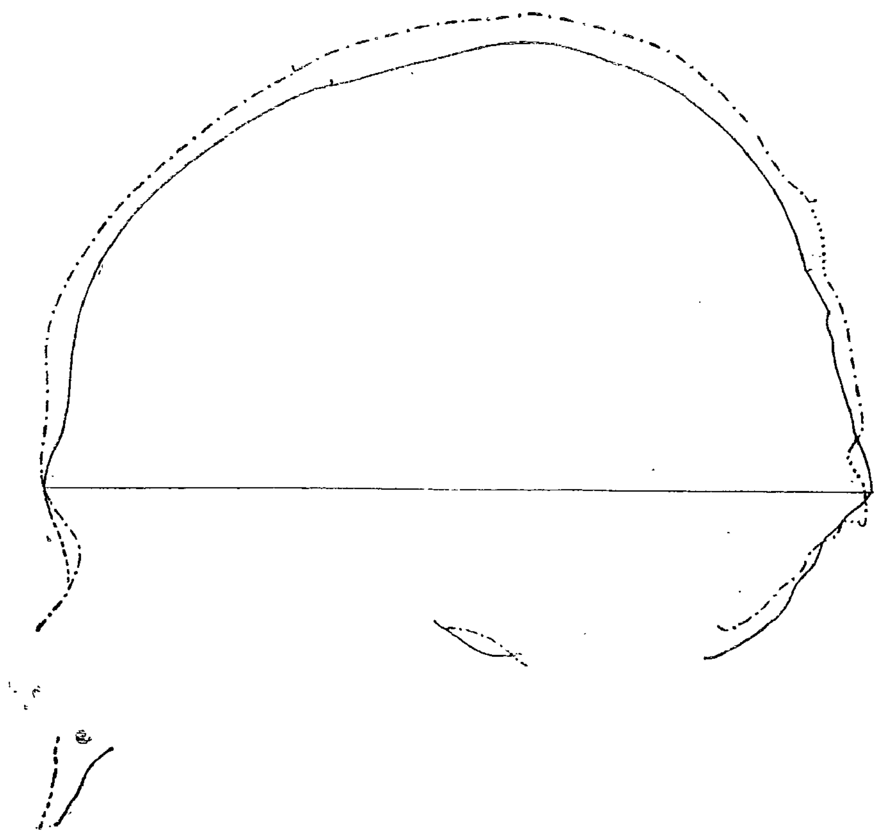
The general morphology and the metric characters of Yelleswaram skeletal remains do not attest them to be the autochthones.

In a recent publication, Sarkar (1960) has reported the presence of brachycranial and mesocranial skulls from the megaliths of Brahmagiri, Mysore. He postulates that these brachycephals are of foreign origin. Further, he links this element with the Scytho-Iranians and finds a close similarity with Sialk crania studied by Vallois (1939). At Yelleswaram, too, a similar broad-headed element is found. The cranial indices of adult males from both the megalithic sites are shown below.

Yelleswaram Megaliths	C. I.	Brahmagiri Megaliths C. I.	
Meg. III Skull 1	81.72?	83.52	Skull B
		78.21	Skull A
Meg. III Skull 2	89.09?	79.13	Skull C
Meg. I Skull 7	80.57	80.75?	Skull F

The table shows that Skull 7 and Skull 1 of Yelleswaram have a very close unity in indices with Skull F and Skull B respectively of Brahmagiri. The mean cranial index of Yelleswaram shows a slightly higher average of 83.79 in comparison to that of Brahmagiri, which is 80.40, (both being brachycranial). The former corresponds well with Sialk 'Brachycephal Group IV' which is 84.35. In morphological characters, too, the robustness

of the skeletal parts, prominent malars and the highly worn-down teeth are comparable between the series. The Yelleswaram skulls agree with Type IV of Sialk in large-headedness, thickness of bones, cranial contour, brachycephaly, high to medium vault, oblique forehead and above medium to tall stature. The similarity of the Yelleswaram crania with Sialk is evidenced from the superimposed median sagittal craniogram of Sialk male skull No. 9, superimposed over Yelleswaram male skull Meg. I. Skull No. 7 (Fig. B).



————Yelleswaram Male (Meg. I. Skull 7)

—.—.—.—Sialk Male (No. 9)

Fig. B Superimposition of Sagittal Contours

Further, the Yelleswaram average can well be compared with the Northern Persians, who are characterized by a brachycephalic index of 83, indicating the Scytho-Iranian affinity. According to Ariens Kappers (1934), the great Scytho-

Iranian migration took place during the 1st millenium B. C. from the region of Ukraine. Wheeler (1961) is of openion that the Persians brought iron in India, which is a characteristic feature of the megalithic culture.

The disputed problem of the origin and movement of the tall, robust, brachycephalic population in India cannot be solved until the prehistoric skeletal materials from various sites are thoroughly studied.

Summary

It was through the courtesy of the Director of State Archaeology Department, Hyderabad, that the writers had the privilege of examining the megalithic human skeletons excavated at Yelleswaram which is situated on the left bank of river Krishna, opposite the ancient site of Nagarjunakonda.

Six crania, of which three are males and three females, and a few long bones were studied. Only two crania are better preserved and in somewhat complete form. The skulls are massive, rugged and the bones are thick. Of the three male skulls one is hyperbrachycranic and two are brachycranic, while among the females one is mesocranic. The skulls are euencephalic in cranial capacity and hypsicranic in length-auricular-height index. Applying Dupertuis and Hadden's as well as Pearson's formulae, stature is estimated to vary from above medium to tall.

In a recent publication Dr. S. S. Sarkar has reported the presence of similar brachycranial and mesocranial skulls from the megaliths of Brahmagiri, Mysore. He postulates that these brachycephals were foreign in origin and he traces affinity with the Sialk megalith builders. The Yelleswaram megalithic skeletons lend some support to this contention.

Acknowledgement

We express our indebtedness to Mr. R. Ramesan, M. A., I. A. S., Director of Archaeology, Hyderabad, who kindly allowed us to examine and photograph the Yelleswaram Megalithic skeletons and provided all facilities in his laboratory.

We are grateful to the Director, Anthropological Survey of India, Government of India, for kindly allowing us to publish the note and supply the blocks.

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TABLE 1

Measurements of Crania from Yelleswaram Megaliths

Characters	Meg. I No. 7 Male	Meg. III No. 1 Male	Meg. III No. 2 Male	Meg. I No. 4 Female	Meg. I No. 12 Female
Max. cranial length	175	186?	165?	—	169
Max. cranial breadth	141	152	147	128	130
Nasion inion length	175?	—	—	—	—
Basilo-bregmatic height	134	—	—	—	—
Least frontal diameter	91	103	96.5	—	92
Greatest frontal diameter	117	—	120	105?	113
Bimastoid breadth	—	—	—	—	94.5
Nasion basion line	103.5?	—	—	—	—
Nasal height	46?	—	—	—	—
Nasal breadth	26?	—	—	—	—
Inter-orbital breadth	21	—	—	—	22.5
Orbital breadth, right	44.5	—	—	—	—
Orbital breadth, left	45.5	—	—	—	38
Orbital height, right	29.5	—	—	—	—
Orbital height, left	31·5	—	—	—	29
Occipital foramen, length	38	—	—	—	—
Occipital foramen, breadth	29.5	—	—	—	—
Sagittal cranial arc	360	—	—	—	—
Transverse cranial arc	323.5	—	—	316	301
Horizontal circumference	499	—	505	—	482.5
Bi-auricular breadth	120	—	—	—	—
Outer bi-orbital breadth	108?	—	—	—	—
Inner bi-orbital breadth	100	—	—	—	—
Auricular height	118?	—	—	—	111
Greatest occipital breadth	108	—	125	99	—
Frontal arc	126	—	131	—	114
Parietal arc	126	134	134	125	129
Occipital arc	104	—	—	—	—
Frontal chord	116	—	111	—	101.5
Parietal chord	109.5	114	117	106	115.5
Occipital chord	90	—	—	—	—
Bi-orbitonasal arc	110?	—	—	—	—
Glabella nasion length	8.5	—	11.5	—	9
Nasion lambda line	170	--	159	—	163.5

Measurements are given in millimeters.

TABLE 2

Linear and angular measurements on the Mid-Sagittal Craniogram

Skull No. Sex	Meg. I No. 7 Male	Meg. I No. 12 Female
Calvarial height	104	—
Lambda calvarial height	74	73
Bregma position line	97	—
Frontal perpendicular	21	20
Parietal perpendicular	28	27
Occipital perpendicular	26	—
Nasion to foot of bregma perpendicular	63	—
Squama chord	52	—
Nuchal chord	52	—
Frontal inclination angle	56.0°	—
Occipital inclination angle	75.5°	—
Calvarial base angle	7.5°	—
Frontal curvature angle	140°	137.5°
Parietal curvature angle	125.5°	129°
Occipital curvature angle	121.5°	—
Occipital flexion angle	121·5°	—

TABLE 3

Indices of the Cranium

Skull No. Sex	Meg. I No. 7 Male	Meg. III No. 1 Male	Meg. III No. 2 Male	Meg. III No. 4 Female	Meg. I No. 12 Female
Length-breadth index	80.57	81.72?	89.09?	74 00?	76.92
Length-height index	76.57	—	—	—	—
Breadth-height index	95.04	—	—	—	—
Length-auricular height index	67.43	—	—	—	65.68
Breadth-auricular height index	83.69	—	—	—	85.38
Calvarial height index	59.77?	—	—	—	—
Bregma position index	36.21?	—	—	—	—
Sagittal cranial curvature index	48.33?	—	—	—	—
Trans. cranial curvature index	37.09	—	—	—	—
Trans. fronto-parietal index	64.54	67.76	65.65	—	70.77
Orbital index, right	66.29	—	—	—	—
Orbital index, left	69.23	—	—	—	76,32
Inter orbital index	19.44	—	—	—	—
Nasal index	56.52?	—	—	—	—

TABLE 4

Other indices of the Cranium

Skull No.	Meg. I No. 7	Meg. III No. 1	Meg. I No. 2	Meg. I No. 4	Meg. I No. 12
Sex	Male	Male	Male	Female	Female
A. Indices showing the relation of the various sagittal arc.					
Fronto-parietal index	100.00	—	102.29	—	113.16
Fronto-occipital index	82.54				
Parieto-occipital index	82.54				
Fronto-sagittal arc index	35.00				
Parieto-sagittal arc index	35.00				
Occipito-sagittal arc index	28.89				
B. Indices showing the amount of curvature (bulging) of each of the cranium.					
Frontal curvature index	92.06	—	84.73	—	89.03
Parietal curvature index	86.90	85.07	87.31	84.80	89.53
Occipital curvature index	86.54				
C. Some additional indices.					
Lambda calvarial height	43.53				
Frontal perpendicular index	18.10				
Parietal perpendicular index	25 57				
Occipital perpendicular index	27.78				

TABLE 5

Available measurements of Long Bones

(Probably of different individuals)

		Right		Left
Clavicle :	Maximum length	151?		154
	Sagittal diam. at the middle	12.5		16
	Girth at the middle	41		44
	Sagittal diam. at the acromial end	27		28
Index :	Caliber index	17.88		18.18
Humerus :	Maximum length	347		346
	Trans. diam. of head	50?		—
	Circumference at the upper third	72		70
	Least circumference of the shaft	67		62
	Prox. dorso-ventral diam.	24		22
	Prox. med-lat. diam.	29		24
	Med. dorso-ventral diam.	20		17
	Med. med-lat. diam.	22		20
	Dist. dorso-ventral diam.	17		16
	Dist. med-lat. diam	31		28
	Breadth of the distal epiphysis	60		62
Index :	Caliber Index	19.31		17.92
Radius : (Male)	Maximum length	257		255?
	Physiological length	245		244
	Circumference at the middle	41		43
	Med. med-lat. diam.	13		14
Index :	Caliber index	16.73		17.62
		(a)	(b)	
Femur : (Male)	Absolute length	495	—	—
	Physiological length	490	—	—
	Prox. dorso-ventral diam.	27	27	27
	Prox. med-lat. diam.	31	30	27
	Med. dorso-ventral diam.	30	29	32
	Med. med-lat. diam.	28	26	22
	Circumference at the middle	93	92	90
	Dist. dorso-ventral diam.	30	33	29
	Dist. med-lat. diam.	42	44	42

TABLE 5—Continued

Indices :				
	Index of robusticity	11.84	—	—
	Length thickness index	18.98	—	—
	Platymeric index	87.09	90.00	96.43
	Pilastric index	107.14	111.53	145.45
Tibia :	Whole length	—		425
(Male)				
	Prox. dorso-ventral diam.	—		40
	Prox. med-lat. diam.	—		30
	Med. dorso-ventral diam.	—		32
	Med. med-lat. diam.	—		22
	Circumference at the middle	—		87
	Dist. dorso-ventral diam.	—		30
	Dist. med-lat. diam.	—		26
	Least circumference	—		84
Indices :				
	Caliber index	—		19.76
	Index of cross-section in the middle	—		68.75

STATE FORMATION AND RAJPUT MYTH IN TRIBAL CENTRAL INDIA

SURAJIT SINHA

Mr. Chairman and Friends :

PLEASE allow me to take this opportunity to express my gratefulness for the invitation to take the Chair in Anthropology and Archaeology in the current session, before I present my paper.

Introduction

My first field experience in Anthropology was among the Ho of Kolhan (Singhbhum), who have been described by various ethnographers as a fairly primitive representative of the Kolarian or the Mundari group of tribes (Dalton 1872). Following the lead given in the later reports on the Ho by Majumdar (Majumdar 1950), I was quite intrigued by finding in the same group a class of people, the Manki or Chief of an area (P i r) comprising more than a dozen villages, who lived in a commodious house, maintained a number of servants, strictly avoided all manual labour, indulged in the luxury of keeping a mistress, and so on. Although the Manki shared the same clan as that of the average tribesmen in the surrounding villages, he and his close agnates distinctly stood apart as a class. In course of time, I came to learn that the Chief of Bharbharia Pir was a sort of fief-holder under the Raja of Mayurbhanj before British rule. Later on, while studying the Bhumij and the Munda of Chotanagpur, I came across similar and even more highly aristocratic strata and attendant aristocratic moods among these so-called tribal

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people. A little probing into these societies and a few others indicated fairly long-standing association of these tribal groups with feudalistic States. Thus the Gond had their famous kingdom of Garha-Mandla, Deogarh and Chanda (Chatterton 1916), the Bhuiya are linked with the State of Keonjhar (Cobden-Ramsay 1910), the Munda with Chota Nagpur Raj (Dalton 1872), the Bhumij with Barabhum (Dalton 1872, Risley 1891, Sinha 1957), and so on. As a matter of fact, it is hard to find any settled agricultural tribe of importance in the entire tribal belt of central India, with the possible exception of the Santal which has not been substantially affected by long-standing connection with feudalistic State organizations.

The most important consequence of this development is that the main body of the tribe has often been stratified into social classes, mainly in terms of differential land-holding and of the territorial extent of political dominance. This fact of stratification again, has set the various segments of the once relatively equalitarian tribes in a perpetual craze for social upgrading. The most striking feature in these processes is that all over this vast territory of central India, the peak point of identification of social movements among the tribes is the Rajput of north-western India who are regarded as the true representatives of the traditional Kshatriya class. As a result of these social movements which have gone on for centuries, there are today Rajputs and pseudo-Rajputs of varying orders of prestige throughout this tribal tract. The highest in status are the traditional princely clans of Rajasthan belonging to the familiar Solar and Lunar branches and on the lowest rung are the recent entrants into the chain from the tribal upper class. In other words, State-formation in the tribal belt of central India is very largely a story of *Rajputisation* of the tribes.

Most of the early ethnographers of tribal India like Dalton, Risley, Russel and Hira Lal, and Roy, in spite of their considerable knowledge of these historical processes among the groups they studied—probably in their primary urge to record the most primitive core before they were changed too far—paid somewhat inadequate attention to the complex develop-

ments which connected these tribes with Hindu civilization. This essay is an attempt to follow up the developmental processes as well as the consequences of the formation of States in tribal central India. We shall discuss such questions as conquest vis-a-vis evolutionary theories of State formation, and investigate the techno-economic, social, military and symbolic conditions favouring the growth of State. Our primary concern, however, will be with the consequences. Here we are interested in following up how the equalitarian primitive clan-based tribal organization has adjusted itself to the centralized, hierarchic, territorially oriented political developments, the nature of social class-formation, interaction between the primitive ritual symbols of the tribe and the advanced symbols sponsored by the States, and the effect of such historical processes on the minds of these people in relation to the current canvas of rapid economic and political change.

Our task is made extremely difficult on account of the lack of reliable historical material in pre-British times when these kingdoms or chieftaincies actually came into being. The Moslem records on these areas are also much too inadequate, and the spurious long genealogies of the aspirant pseudo-Rajput tribal chieftains are often quite misleading. The archaeological ruins of Jaina, Buddhist and Hindu periods, belonging approximately to the period between the eighth and twelfth centuries A. D., which are sporadically scattered over this territory, seem to date considerably anterior to the formation of these tribal States. Under the circumstances, our enquiries will have to be based mainly on the structural insight that we gain by studying a number of contemporary or recently ruined States in the area.

We may, therefore, begin with a fairly detailed analytical description of the estate of Barabhum in the former Manbhum District of Bihar[1] in relation to the Bhumij tribe, where the writer had done field work, off and on, for about four years

[1] Since 1 November 1957, the bulk of Manbhum has been reconstituted into the new district of Purulia in West Bengal.

between 1950 and 1960.[2] This detailed description will be followed by brief comparative notes on some of the other feudalistic States and Zemindaries in Chhattisgarh, Chotanagpur and Gondwana.

II

BARABHUM, A BHUMIJ KINGDOM

A Kingdom from a Tribal Base

The Pargannah or estate of Barabhum in South Manbhum covers an area of 635 square miles and 244,733 people. It has 596 revenue villages or mauzas of which 20 are no longer inhabited. Of the 64 castes living in this Pargannah the numerically dominant groups are : the Kurmi (71,892—30%), the Santal (40,236—16%), and the Bhumij (37,947—15%). Of these three the Bhumij are locally regarded as the earliest settlers who had cleared the virgin forests and set up villages as Khuntkatti tenure-holders. Also, they nearly monopolized the offices of the village headman, Ghatwal, and village priests, Laya.

When the British first came into contact with Barabhum around 1770, the Raja of Barabhum was apparently an independent king or chief owing allegiance to no superior authority (Higginson 1771). He was already claiming to be a Rajput Kshatriya and spoke an Aryan language, namely, Bengali. There are no records of Moslem or Maratha incursions into Barabhum. The earliest semi-historical reference to the Bhumij State of Barabhum is to be found in the *Brahmanda* section of the *Bhabishya Purana* compiled in the fifteenth or sixteenth century A.D., where it is stated :

'Barabhumi is in one direction contiguous to Tungabhumi and in others to Shekha mountain ; and it comprises Barabhumi, Samantabhumi and Manbhumi. This country is

[2] It is a pleasure to put on record here the assistance received from Biman Kumar Dasgupta and Hemendra Nath Banerjee of the Anthropological Survey of India, in undertaking an over-all survey of Barabhum Pargannah during 1958 and 1959.

overspread with impenetrable forest of *shwal* and other trees... In the same district are numerous mountains, containing mines of copper, iron and tin. The men are mostly Rajputs, robbers by profession, irreligious and savage. They eat snakes and all sorts of fish, drink spirituous liquors and live principally by plunder or the chase. As to the women, they are, in garb, manners and appearance, more like Rakshashis than human beings. The only aspects of veneration in these countries are rude village divinities' (Coupland 1911).

The prevailing myth about the origin of Barabhum Raj runs roughly as follows:

A prince from Rajputana was going on pilgrimage to Puri accompanied by his pregnant wife. On the way, near Rupsang village in the area which later on became known as Barabhum, the queen gave birth to a pair of twins, without the knowledge of the king and left them by the side of a forest. A pig took pity on these babies and reared them along with her own litter with her milk. The Bhumijes belonging to Gulgu clan rescued these godly babies by killing the pig. The twins became known as Svet Baraha (White Boar) and Nath Varaha (Nath, the Boar). As the boys grew up the Bhumij watched with admiration and amazement the remarkable mental and physical qualities of the boys, and were convinced of their Kshatriya parentage. The Bhumij then took the boys to the court of Raja Vikramjit of Patkum, who used to rule over this tract in those days. It is said that, impressed by the princely courage of the brothers, Vikramjit honoured Nath Varaha with a portion of his own kingdom. This new kingdom, having a circumference of 16 y o j a n a s, came to be known as Barabhum.

A slightly different version of the same legend is given by Dalton in his *Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal* (1960, 174).

It is hard to decide as to what truth can be salvaged from this myth. The legend of a Rajput prince of northern India going with his pregnant wife on pilgrimage to Puri is associated with the miraculous origin myth of a number of other States in central India and Orissa. It is not difficult

to adapt such a prevailing myth to prove Rajput ancestry for a powerful tribal chief. This particular myth, however, seems to indicate that Patkum was established earlier than Barabhum and Barabhum was perhaps, in the beginning, a feudal frontier chieftaincy under Patkum. The most significant point in this legend, nevertheless, is the tradition that the ancestors of Barabhum Raj were reared by the Bhumij of Gulgu clan, just as the first ancestor of Chota Nagpur Raj is said to have been reared by Madra Manki, the Munda Chief of a Parha (Roy 1912, 138). There is also the tradition in Barabhum, that before settling down at Barabazar, the present capital, the Rajas of Barabhum had their forts (*g a r h*) at Pabanpur and at Bhuni. It is of interest to note that Pabanpur lies within a mile of Bhula, the ossuary of the Gulgu clan. The Bhumij priests at Bhumi, where the royal goddess of Koteswari is located in a sacred grove, belong to the Gulgu clan. Again, the village of Rupsang where the twin ancestors of Barabhum Raj were discovered, is also a Gulgu clan dominated village. These repeated associations of the royal family with the Gulgu clan lead us to suspect that the Raj family originally belonged to the Gulgu, which is one of the earliest and most numerically dominant of the Bhumij clans in the Pargannah.

The genealogical table of the Raj family runs through the fantastic depth of forty-one generations between the founder, Nath Varaha, and the present Raja or Zemindar. The British came to Barabhum during the reign of Vivek Narayan, the thirty-third descendant from Nath Varaha. The date of inception of the kingdom is given by tradition as 23rd Magha in the second Saka era, i.e. around the third century A. D., whereas a normal ascription of twenty-five years to one generation would place the establishment of the kingdom around 900 A.D. The genealogies, however, appear to be fictitious beyond a few generations previous to Vivek Narayan.

There is one more important feature worth examining. Near the alleged site of the first capital of Barabhum Raj there are extensive ruins of stone architecture and images which had at one time been conjectured by Cunningham to

be the ruins of the capital of King Sasanka of Bengal (Coupland 1911). There are similar associations of the originally tribal Patkum Raj with the extensive Hindu-Jain-Buddhist remains at Dulmi and of Manbazar Raj with similar ruins at Budhpur near Manbazar. The legends connecting the tribal derived kingdoms with these remains of a higher level of civilization are clearly imaginary. But the existence of these ruins significantly sets the date of origin of these tribal kingdoms at a period later than the breakdown of the earlier extensions of Jain-Buddhist-Hindu civilizations in these hilly tracts around the end of the twelfth century A.D. It thus appears that such tribal kingdoms as Barabhum, Patkum and Panchakot (or Panchet) came into being some time between the thirteenth and the sixteenth centuries A.D., when we find references to them in *Bhavishya Purana* (*supra* : 5-6). Moreover, we find a reference to Bir Narain, the Zemindar of Panchet in Mogul chronicles—*Padi-San-Nama*—around 1632 or 1633 (Gokhale 1918 : 18-19). It appears to be likely that the Bhumij imbibed some of the ideas associated with kingship after coming into contact with the above-mentioned outposts of Brahmanical civilization.

The territorial organization that prevailed at the initial stage of British contact in Barabhum provided the Bhumij with a near monopoly of all the important positions of power and land-holding in the regional hierarchy. This included the holders of the privileged Khuntkatti cultivating tenancies, Tanbedars or soldiers enjoying the choicest plots for cultivation ; Ghatwals, the headmen and tenure-holders of single villages ; Sadiyals, the chiefs of about twelve villages ; Taraf Sardars or Sardar Ghatwals, chiefs of a number of Sadiyals ; and finally the Raja or the Zemindar himself. All these office holders from the Ghatwal to the Taraf Sardar exerted considerable autonomy regarding law and order within their own jurisdictions, and seemed to enjoy this priviledge hereditarily as a customary right rather than by virtue of a position granted by the King. This arrangement itself suggests that political evolution in Barabhum was not through sudden invasion and conquest of the region by an aggressive militant

immigrant group ; the growth of the State appears rather as a constructive coagulation of traditional socio-political units of the Bhumij. On the other hand, from the local tradition of constant warfare among the neighbouring chieftaincies, it appears that local military pressure contributed considerably towards the kind of territorial arrangement that we find in Barabhum, namely, the Chief's directly controlled territory being surrounded and guarded on all sides by frontier fief-holders (Dent, 1833).

Even in the early days of British contact with Barabhum, we find the Raja to be a patron of Brahmanism (both of the Sakta and Vaishnava varieties) through numerous grants of villages to the Brahmans. The Raja used to be constantly surrounded by members of the upper Hindu castes, such as the Brahman, Chhatri, Kayastha, etc., as his advisers in religious as well as in secular matters. It seems to be clear that as the Bhumij chiefs gained ascendancy over the territory of Barabhum they became more and more attracted to the standard of life of larger Hinduized States around them. The inevitable consequence was the bringing in of ever-increasing numbers of higher caste Hindus as secular and ritual officials who helped the chiefs to achieve their desired goal to be regarded as of respectable breed by the civilized Rajput (!) chiefs around them. At what point the Raj family finally succeeded in getting out of this original Bhumij affiliation cannot be ascertained. However, the processes seem to be analogous to the ones described by Roy in connection with the Munda of Ranchi (Roy 1912, 134-149).

Apart from receiving the ritual service of respectable Brahmans, the two other crucial features that led to the severance of the tribal affiliations of the royal lineage are : (1) creation of a flattering and miraculous myth of origin, and (2) giving up connections with the clan ossuary. In the case of Barabhum Raj, the link with the clan ossuary at Bhula was given up so many generations ago that it is now practically forgotten by the other clan brethren. In the case of the smaller chieftaincy of Baghmundi, the process of Rajputisation has not moved so far ; their Bhumij identity is still recognized

by the tribal Bhumij who point out the line in the clan ossuary where the chief's ashes used to be carried even two generations ago.

A Brief Outline of The Tribal Tradition

We should say something at this point about the traditional pattern of society and culture among the Bhumij who are regarded by all competent ethnographers on the Kolarian tribes as a group closely allied to the Munda of Ranchi. As a matter of fact, the two groups freely intermarry in the border of Ranchi and Manbhum Districts. In Manbhum, however, nearly all the Bhumij have forgotten their traditional language and now speak Bengali, the language of the Hindu immigrants. When Risley studied this tribe in the latter half of the nineteenth century, the tribe had already moved quite far towards becoming a Hindu caste and had even started employing Brahmans of inferior status in their rites of passage (Risley 1915, 75). However, they still maintain a good deal of their original social and cultural pattern. Like the Munda of Ranchi, the Bhumij are grouped into a number of patrilineal exogamous clans or g o t r a s, which are affiliated to the respective ancestral villages where the clan ossuaries are located. The clans tended to be localized around the ossuary villages. In the case of wide dispersal of members of the clan, new ossuaries may be initiated for facilitating easy burial of the ashes.

Although the Bhumij have incorporated a good deal of immigrant Hindu magico-religious traditions under the influence of 'degraded' Brahman priests and Vaishnava preceptors, they still maintain their loyalty to the traditional gods—the deities residing in the sacred grove (J a h e r B u d i, D e s s a u l i), spirits of hills and forests, ancestral spirits, and so on. In regard to festivals also, the tribal rites like S a r h u l, J a n t a l, M a g h P u j a, B u r u P u j a, etc., are still maintained along with participation in typical Hindu festivals like D u r g a P u j a, R a t h a Y a t r a, and so on (Sinha 1953 and 1958).

Clan and Territory

Keeping the above background in mind, let us examine the relation between clan and the administrative segments in the State of Barabhum. According to the Settlement Survey of 1908-13 the various tarafs in Barabhum contained the following number of villages :

Taraf	*Number of villages*
Gartali	120
Dubraji	10
Satrakhani	97
Dhadka	79
Panchasardari	80
Tinsoya	35
Kumaripar	110
Sarberia	48
Bangurda	17
Total	596

Of these, Gartali is the central tract south of the river Kumari under the direct control of the Raja. Dubraji, a taraf of only 10 villages, is for the maintenance of the eldest son of the Raja. Except for the two Taraf Sardars of Kumaripar who claim to be Rajput Chhatris and are recognized as later immigrants in the region, all the other Taraf Sardars belong to the Bhumij tribe. Colonel Dalton speaks of these tenures as follows: 'Their tenures are the oldest in the country; older than the rights of their Chief, who there is every reason to suppose descends from one of the same stock originally elected to rule over them......' (Nandjee 1883, paragraph 7).

In the two big tarafs of Satrakhani and Panchasardari, the taraf area was divided into a number of tracts known as sadiyali, under subordinate chiefs or Sadiyals. Under the Sadiyal were the Ghatwals or village headmen who often belonged to the Bhumij tribe and usually belonged to the same lineage as that of the hereditary village priest or Laya. Like the Taraf Sardar in relation to the Raja, the Sadiyals and the

Ghatwals enjoyed a good deal of autonomy in their respective areas. Moreover, the authority of the Ghatwals, Sadiyals and the Taraf Sardars was considerably tempered by the existence of territorial councils of elders at the village, sadiyali and taraf levels where people used to meet in an eqalitarian atmosphere. Within the village again, large areas of cultivable land, often of the choicest kind, used to be leased out at nominal rent to Tanbedars or Paiks, as service tenures. These Tanbedars, mostly belonging to the Bhumij tribe, operated as foot soldiers under the guidance of the Ghatwals, Sadiyals and Taraf Sardars to defend the territories of the Raja and for other military expeditions.

The situation is thus substantially different from that of European feudalism in which the king granted fiefs to his vassals on a contractual basis (Block 1961, 145-175). In Barabhum the Raja and his Taraf Sardars are bound by irrevocable traditional ties of long standing. The existence of equalitarian councils of elders at the various levels of territorial hierarchy represents another striking contrast to European feudalism. It should be mentioned here that the relation between the level of the Chiefs and that of the Raja was not without tension. There was an effort on the part of the Raja to expand his direct control over his entire Pargannah and similarly the Taraf Sardars also pushed their authority hard on the Sadiyals under them.

Risley is under the impresion that the four major Tarafs as well as Taraf Gartali represent the original jurisdiction of five Bhumij clans and that the Chief of Gartali attained supremacy by belonging to the senior line :

'It seems to me the present distribution of the so-called *Ghatwali* tenures strongly suggests that body of Mundas divided into *Khunts* or stripes......settled in Barabhum and cleared the country. There were probably as many *Khunts* as there are *Tarafs* and the ancestor of the present Zemindar was the head of the eldest *Khunt*......In course of time the Zemindar, from the chief of the eldest *Khunt* of the Bhumij became a Hindu and called himself a Raja......The present organisation of the *Ghatwals* in Barabhum corresponds so

exactly to the Mundari village system in Lohardaga that there can hardly be a doubt that it is the same thing under a different name. The village *Sardar* corresponds to the *Manki* of Munda *Parha*. As for the *Sardar Ghatwals* of the larger *Tarafs* it seems to me most likely that they were originally *Mankis* of outlying *Parhas*...' (Risley 1883 : paragraph 50).

The actual state of distribution of the Bhumij clans is too complicated today (it must have been more or less similar in Risley's time also) to reconstruct the mono-clanic homogeneous tracts defining the limits of tarafs as hypothesised by Risley. The total of 8,395 Bhumij families spread in 437 villages of Pargannah Barabhum are affiliated to 50 clans with 363 ossuaries. Of these, 17 clans cover the bulk of the population. Each of the four major tarafs contain more than one clan ossuary. Taraf Panchasardari, for example, contains as many as five important ossuaries belonging to five clans, leaving aside the occurrence of a few relatively unimportant ones. Even if we break down the data to the narrower range of sadiyali, it does not lead us to a picture of mono-clanic homogeneity. If we take up the case of a single sadiyali, namely that of Koira, we find that of the 15 villages falling within the sadiyali only six are dominated by Jaru, the clan of the Sadiyal, three by the Koira, and two each by the Badda Baghra and Gulgu respectively. At the village level, however, there is a distinct persistence of a tradition that normally the headman and the priest should belong to the earliest settled clan whose members have the privileged monopoly over Khuntkatti cultivating tenancies. There is, therefore, some degree of idealized correspondence between the clan and the village.

Neither the Chief of Barabhum nor the people at large conceive of the tarafs as the areas of particular clans. These are, at least now, regarded as land-revenue-*cum*-political jurisdictions without any reference to caste or clan, except in the matter of the caste of the Chieftain. A single taraf like Panchasardari contains, besides the Bhumij with their numerous clans and still more numerous ossuaries, many other castes. Nevertheless, there is an awareness in the minds of

the Bhumij that particular tracts of land (not defined in terms of taraf) within Barabhum are inhabited by the members of a particular clan. In Bhumij marriages it is still customary to address the members of the gathering in terms of clan groups, 'Friends of Jugi clan, of the Jaru clan, and of the Ubursandi clan! We offer you obeisance and with your permission we begin the marriage rituals.'

Although the above-mentioned concrete data on the clan-territory relationship do not lend support to Risley's hypothesis, I do not feel inclined to throw overboard his insights based on long acquaintance with the Kolarian tribes. The very fact that all the Bhumij Taraf Sardars invariably belong to the most or one of the most important clans in their tarafs indicates that it may not be altogether improbable that originally the tarafs were the territorial jurisdictions of the major clans, and that the present complex picture is a result of extensive population movement in the Pargannah bringing in many castes and many clans in otherwise nearly mono-clanic taraf areas.

The Economic Base

The political supremacy of the Raja had the necessary support of economy. Settled agriculture with the plough provided the necessary technological base for the inflow of surplus wealth to the Raja and the hierarchy of Chiefs. As the Taraf Sardars, who controlled nearly three-fourths of his territory, paid only token revenues to the Raja, his main income was from the khas or directly controlled tarafs of Gartali and Dubraji. Here again, it is said that formerly no cash rent used to be levied. Every farmer used to give a certain quantity of rice (shyama chaul), clarified butter (shyama ghee), and a he-goat (shyama pantha), to the Raja on the occasion of Durga Puja festival. This sacred festival was thus an important resource for the Royal exchequer. But the main source of his income was the cultivable plots, man jami, that he owned in many of the villages in his khas taraf. Very often these plots were located near an irrigation ditch

(b a n d h). Each tenant had to provide one day's labour with the plough, one day's labour with the hoe and two days' labour with sickles for the cultivation of these plots. The Raja had the advantage of a large supply of labourers in khas plots. Various artisan castes like the POTTER, BLACKSMITH, BASKET-MAKER, etc., contributed a quota of their wares to the King in lieu of land enjoyed without rent. In later periods we also find the King sponsoring weekly markets. The Raja had additional income not only from his own khas territory but also from the tarafs, as miscellaneous benevolences on the occasion of coronation, marriage, sacred initation ceremony, etc., in the family.

The Social Classes

It must have been anticipated by now that the territorial distribution of power and economic interest in the land would guide the major lines of social stratification in Barabhum, as one moved from the level of the Raja down to the level of the Bhumij cultivator. We are already familiar with the territorially defined power hierarchy, i.e., with *political classes*. Following are the important *social classes*, in a descending order, defined in terms of ritual status : Rajput Kshatriyas of Namahal[3] order ; Inferior Rajputs of Dashmahal order, who are still recognized as derived from the Bhumij ; the upper class or Ataisha Bhumij, who do not take chicken or wine and invaribly take diksha from a Vaishnava preceptor and consult a Brahman priest in the rites of passage ; the ordinary Bhumij or Nagadi who, though enjoying ritual services of 'degraded' Brahmans, as do the members of the Ataisha class, usually take chicken and wine and practice widow remarriage ; and last of all are

[3] The Raja of Barabhum with eight other royal or Zemindar families such as Manbazar, Dhalbhum, Ambikanagar, Raspal, Simlapal, etc., form an intermarrying social class known as the Nine Houses or Namahal. Lower in status, there is another group of royal houses belonging to smaller Zemindaris in the same area. Conventionally these comprise ten Zemindar families and are thus known as Dashmahal. In most of this Dashmahal group of Rajput families such as Baghmundi, Jaipur, Jhalda and Begunkudor, their Bhumij ancestry is still remembered in the locality, though vigorously denied by these aspirant Rajput families.

the socially degraded or 'fallen' Nichu Bhumij whose degradation is often due to breach of rules of clan exogamy or caste endogamy.

The nature of the interrelation between economic, political and ritual-status hierarchies in Barabhum may be presented diagrammatically, as shown in the accompanying diagram.[4] There is a fair degree of correspondence between the three systems of hierarchies. This is particularly impressive above the territorial level of the village. Within the village level, even the landless labourer and poor cultivator share the same ritual rank as the headman of the village, whereas even a substantial cultivator may be degraded to the Nichu class for a social offence. It may also be mentioned here that besides forming a hierarchy of marriage classes, a member of a higher socio-ritual class will not accept cooked food or drinking water from the member of a lower class. A Namahal Rajput will not accept water even from a Zemindar of Dashmahal class.

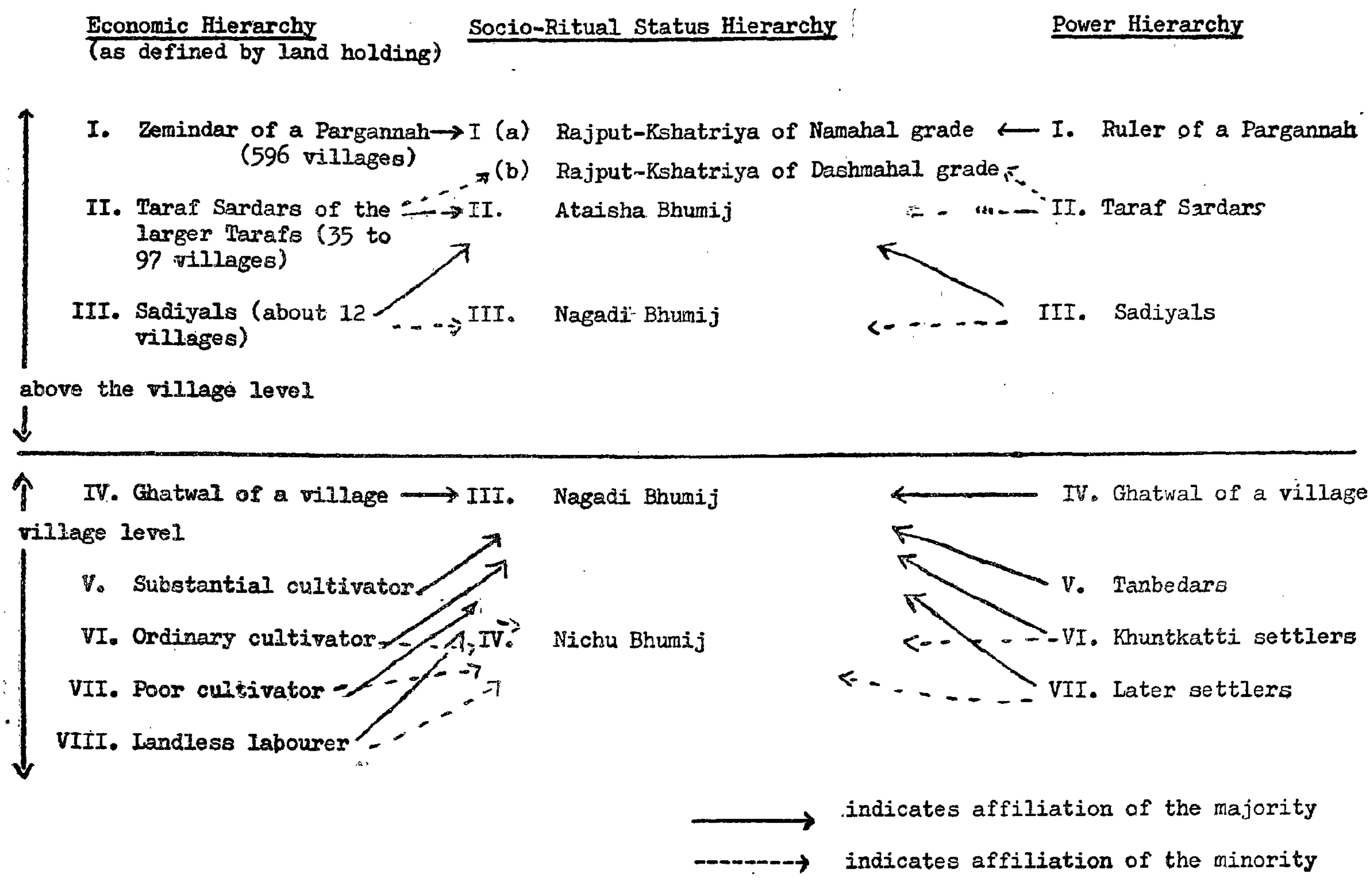
It may be pointed out here that within the district of Manbhum itself there is a class of Rajput Kshatriyas still higher than the Namahal level and this class is represented by Panchet and Patkum Raj families. It appears that the relative position of the various orders of so-called Rajput families has been determined mainly by two factors : the priority in their entrance to Kshatriyahood and the size of territories politically and economically controlled by them.

This hierarchic arrangement generates an atmosphere of excessive sensitiveness about one's rank and perpetual drive for higher recognition. The means to achieve these ends are :

1. The employment of Brahmans of the right kind. This can only be done by attracting Brahmans from distant lands with the promise of profuse remuneration in terms of land grants.

2. Making up, with the help of the Brahmans, a fictitious genealogy establishing mythical connection with the illustrious Rajput clans of north-western India.

[4] Information on the village level is based on our data on Madhupur village in Chandil P.S.


Economic Hierarchy
(as defined by land holding)
Socio-Ritual Status Hierarchy
Power Hierarchy
I. Zemindar of a Pargannah (596 villages)
I (a) Rajput-Kshatriya of Namahal grade
I. Ruler of a Pargannah
(b) Rajput-Kshatriya of Dashmahal grade
II. Taraf Sardars of the larger Tarafs (35 to 97 villages)
II. Ataisha Bhumij
II. Taraf Sardars
III. Sadiyals (about 12 villages)
III. Nagadi Bhumij
III. Sadiyals
above the village level
IV. Ghatwal of a village
III. Nagadi Bhumij
IV. Ghatwal of a village
village level
V. Substantial cultivator
V. Tanbedars
VI. Ordinary cultivator
IV. Nichu Bhumij
VI. Khuntkatti settlers
VII. Poor cultivator
VII. Later settlers
VIII. Landless labourer
indicates affiliation of the majority
indicates affiliation of the minority

3. Ritual display of the right kind. This involves positive actions like observing, under the guidance of priests, typical Brahmanical rites of passage, such as, initiation with the sacred thread, observance of Vedic rituals in marriage and funeral rites, maintenance of Hindu idols and temples and associated festivals like Durga Puja, etc., and introducing taboos such as avoidance of 'degrading' food like beef, pork and chicken, restriction of freedom of the womenfolk in movement, and in forms of marriage, avoidance of the traditional practices of widow remarriage, levirate, and marriage by elopement.

4. Marriage alliance with an already recognized Rajput Kshatriya family, often in very poor economic position.

It has been observed that rather than ritual purification in the abstract, the crucial factors in social upgrading are the setting up of characteristic social relations, namely, getting the service of a Brahman of the right kind and marriage affiliation with a recognized Rajput family. Both of these are attainable with persistent effort and with the backing of economic and political power.

We find an excellent recent example of such upgrading in the Taraf Sardar family of Satrakhani in Barabhum Paragannah. Even three generations ago, these Taraf Sardars of a fief covering 97 villages and over a hundred square miles, used to be regarded as Bhumij of the Ataisha class by all and their clan ossuary was at Bhula. Bharat Singh, the powerful chief of this taraf around 1880, succeeded in getting his own daughter married to the Raj family of Begunkudor which had already been raised to the level of Rajput-Kshatriyahood of the Dashmahal class. He succeeded in achieving this by alluring the then Raja of Begunkudor with the prospect that his son would succeed to his vast estate—a promise which he fulfilled later on. Although the stigma of this known history of social manoeuvre still lingers on the lineage of the Taraf Sardars of Satrakhani, they have succeeded in the last three generations in coming to be regarded as regular members of the Dashmahal Rajput class. Risley, apparently amused and irritated by their Rajput

pretensions, makes the following remarks on the Sardars of Satrakhani :

'...Manmohan Singh, of Taraf Satrakhani, now claims to be a Rajput, regardless of the fact that a few years ago his grandfather wrote himself down in public documents as Bhumij. I mention this instance as an illustration of the facility with which brevet rank as a self-made Rajput may be obtained. Manmohan Singh keeps a Brahman to support his pretensions, and professes to be very particular in all matters of ceremonial observance. His descendants will doubtless obtain unquestioning recognition as local Rajputs, and will intermarry with families who have undergone the same process of transformation as themselves' (Risley 1891, vol. I, 127).

It is interesting to note that, not quite satisfied with attaining the status of Dashmahal Rajput class, the father of the present Taraf Sardar of Satrakhani arranged the marriage of one of his daughters with one of the socially 'degraded' and economically poor branches of the very high status Saraikela Raj family. This marriage, which involved a lot of expenditure, was arranged with the hope of sharing a portion of the glory of the high status of Saraikela Raj, in however diluted form it might flow to Satrakhani through the veins of a bastard lineage.

The mobility operations described above involve narrow lineages or single families in their individual capacities, trying to move up on the social ladder by dissociating themselves from the main body of the tribe. There have been, on the other hand, concerted moves on the part of the tribe as a whole to reform itself in the hope of gaining recognition as a higher Hindu caste, preferably as Kshatriyas. Before we deal with these reformist mass movements, let us discuss the role of the Raja in setting a higher and more complex standard of life in the Paragannah.

Upgrading or Universalization of Regional Culture

Besides his political and economic roles in the Paragannah the Raja set down the highest standard of cultural style in the region as patron of Brahmanism and in the secular sphere as

well. As many as forty-seven villages in Barabhum were presented to Brahmans of various orders as *Brahmottar* and *Debottar* grants. The Raja maintained the follwing categories of priestly offices : Kula Purohit, Kula Guru, Chakravarti, Deogharies, Sabha Pandit and Grahacharya—all belonging to so-called 'pure' Brahmans either of the Utkal or Bengali Rarhi section. The Raja had two guardian deities of importance, namely, Brindabanchand (or Krishna) in the palace temple and the Tantric goddess of Chamundi, locally known as Koteswari, in the traditional sacred grove of the Bhumij at Bhuni.

The members of the Raj family, as Rajput Kshatriyas, have to go through initiation with the sacred thread and all their rites of passage are guided by the Brahman priests of the highest order with Vedic *mantras*. The Raja also sponsored a number of gorgeous religious festivals among which *Ind Parab* and Durga Puja were the two most important ones. These festivals attracted people from all over the Pargannah and fief-holders used to come on horseback with open swords to join the procession with the Raja in the Ind Parab. Female visitors to the Ind festival used to carry with them seedlings from their sacred *Jawdali* baskets, connected with tribal *Karam* festivals in their own villages. These seedlings would be thrown at the Ind posts while they were being raised, with the hope of receiving the blessing of Indra, the King of the Gods, on the crops (Sinha 1958, 35). On the same day, again, villagers throughout the Pargannah used to plant branches of sal trees in their agricultural plots to invoke supernatural blessings on their agricultural operations. These are interesting cases of the meeting of the simple village traditions and the elaborate rituals of the Raja. By locating the temple of his goddess, Koteswari, in the tribal sacred grove at Bhuni, or by patronizing the tribal festivals of *Delde Buru* in the village of Rupsang, the Raja raised the importance of these local sacred sites of the respective villages to a pan-Pargannah level of importance and consequent elaboration. There was the widespread belief in Barabhum that the Raja rules on behalf of the god Brindaban-

chand and goddess Koteswari and as such the Raja shared a good deal of divinity in his person. The human congregation in Barabhum was thus bound by a moral order of shared sacred ideas and sentiments with the Raja as the pivot.

We may now present some ideas about the secular phase of the life of the Raja. The palace, which is also described as garh or fort is bound on all sides by high walls. Within the compound itself there is a large tank where the queens used to enjoy bathing unobserved by outsiders. Among the many rooms in the palace are the coronation room of the Raja (p a t g h a r), his personal room, audience room or v a i t h a k k h a n a, the office room (k a c h a r i m e l a), room for each of the queens, a room for the Raja to retire alone when 'angry' with his wives (g o s a g h a r), and so on. Among his servants were the D u a r i (gatekeepers), T e l m a k h a n i (oil massager), D h u t i k o c h a n i (one who dresses the d h u t i cloth), K h a o a (food-taster, as a precaution against poisoning), etc. Formerly it was the custom to play on s a n a i (a type of clarionette) at intervals throughout the night for the Raja's entertainment. The Rajas had a flair for patronizing concubines, dancing girls, and wrestlers. It was expected by the subjects that the Raja should be courageous, powerful, romantic, gorgeous and whimsical; while he, befitting the standard of the true 'Rajput', should also be deeply devoted to the gods, and be a generous protector of his subjects.

It is of interest to note how the chiefs of the lower order imitated the ritual and secular standard of the Raja in an attenuated form, cut to the size of their economic capacity. All the Taraf Sardars sponsored Durga Puja by making clay images of the goddess, maintained priests who were offered gifts of land, put on the sacred thread (but did not always go through an initiation rite), etc.

In the image of Raja's garh the Taraf Sardars used to have enclosed household compounds where the arenas of the womenfolk were sufficiently excluded from access to outsiders. These chiefs were also indulgent in the matter of keeping concubines and dancing girls.

The same image ran through, in an even more diminutive form, to the level of the village headman or Ghatwal. With his limited resources he would perform Durga Puja with a small earthen pot (g h a t) representing the goddess. He would avoid manual labour in the field but would go personally to his fields to supervise agricultural operations. The female inmates of his house could go out to any house in his own village, but would never go as far the weekly market. Even at the level of headman, these fief-holders used to be called 'Raja' by their immediate neighbours, and the lower class of peasantry, belonging to the other castes would, half-mockingly and half-seriously, flatter even the ordinary Bhumij cultivators by calling them 'Raja Lok', belonging to the King's class.

The Raja and the State thus set a standard for the emulation of a complex tradition which is also locally regarded as the 'Rajput tradition', strongly supporting Brahmanical traits. And this percolated down to the level of the ordinary Bhumij cultivator. In this general universalization of culture, both importation of Brahmanical traits and syncretisation of the Brahmanical with the local Hindu and tribal traditions, have played their parts. It should be noted that even in his eagerness for social upgrading the Raja could not ignore the tribal gods and rituals and the associated priesthood.

Social Mobility of Bhumij Masses

This leads us to examine the process of emulation of the 'Rajput' model by the ordinary Bhumij peasants through concerted mobility movements. The other Taraf Sardars of Barabhum did not have the economic resources of the level of the Satrakhani (*supra*) to attract Brahmans of high order to come to their service and to devise a suitable myth of origin. These Taraf Sardars, unable to dissociate themselves from the main body of the tribe, took the initiative for the tribe as a whole to be regarded as Rajput Kshatriyas, with the support of floating Brahman pundits of a lower order. This involved meetings of the Bhumij over

a large territory, even transcending the limits of Pargannah Barabhum. The slogans raised included the following prescriptive and proscriptive elements. The prescriptions included employing Brahman priests and Vaishnava preceptors in the rites of passage, learning to read the sacred scriptures like the *Ramayana*, the *Mahabharata* and so on. The main taboos were : ploughing with the cow, drinking wine, taking chicken, marriage by elopement, widow remarriage and group-dancing by women. In these meetings they used to make frequent reference to the 'heroic Kshatriya tradition of the past' from which they had fallen in recent years. This movement thrived very successfully, with occasional setbacks, between 1921 and 1947, and the Bhumij were shocked in 1951 when they were labelled as 'Scheduled Wild Tribes' in the electoral rolls. Between 1952 and 1960, however, the interest in Rajput identification has considerably waned. This is partly because the leaders of the movement have realized the advantages to be gained from the Government by belonging to the tribal category. They have also become aware that Rajput standards are going out of fashion among the people who now wield power, money and 'culture' in their mixed social environment. When I participated in one of their meetings in June 1958, I found that the speakers only paid lip service to Kshatriyahood and the leadership had also shifted from the Taraf Sardar to modernized commonors with initiative. This meeting mainly outlined secular goals such as economic uplift, employment, education, etc., and Rajputhood made a curious compromise with tribal affiliation by making a common cause with the Mundas from whom they had tried to be dissociated all these years. In this compromise they have taken the hybrid label of Bhumij Kshatriya Adivasi. I have written in a previous paper that this secular phase of social movement of the Bhumij has not gained as clear a grip on the minds of the Bhumij as had the Rajput Kshatriya myth (Sinha 1957). It is to be marked that it was this myth and looking up that helped the Bhumij in withstanding all the pulls of proselytizing Christian missionaries. And it is the same aspiration that kept them

apart from the general trend of the pan-tribal Jharkhand movement.

While reluctantly falling in line with less Hinduized tribes like the Santal, Ho or Munda today, the Bhumij continue to carry the burden of their frustrated aspiration to be regarded as Rajputs. By stepping into the Bhumij country one can immediately smell the mood of decadent aristocracy and a feeling of predestined fall from the crest of the past that has paralysed the initiative of the Bhumij in the competion with less aristocratic peasants like the Kurmi or the tribal Santal. We shall come across similar decadent moods of frustration among a few other tribal groups as we move along with a quick review of the comparative material.

III

COMPARATIVE NOTES

Before making further analysis of the data on Barabhum estate in relation to the Bhumij tribe, let us briefly review some comparable cases in Manbhum District and then in some other areas in tribal central India.

The Manbhum Estates

Of the revenue paying estates in former Manbhum District, Panchet is easily the largest, both in area and in revenue demand. It includes no less than nineteen out of the thirty-nine Pargannahs which make up the district area and covers 1,650 square miles in Manbhum alone. The remaining Pargannahs of the district constitute each, with two exceptions, single estates. They range in size from a large estate like Barabhum which covers 600 square miles to a petty zemindari like Torang, barely eleven miles in extent.

As has been stated before, the Zemindars of Manbhum can be classified status-wise into at least four classes, given below :

Panchet, Patkum, etc. ... ... The highest class of Rajputs
Barabhum, Manbhum (Manbazar), etc. Namahal Rajputs

Baghmundi, Jhalda, Begunkudor, etc.	Dashmahal Rajputs
Torang, Matha	Thakur, Manki, etc. of Ataisha Bhumij class

Most of these estates share a number of characteristics with Barabhum estate. Settled agriculture with plough provides the requisite technological base for the accumulation of wealth in these zemindar families, and the frontier vassals or subordinate chiefs maintain considerable autonomy in their own territories. The villages are grouped in a hierarchic order of territorial units in terms of an increasing series of *conventional* number of villages: 12 in the area of a Manki, 24 in the area of a Thakur, and 84, in the minimum, forming a Pargannah. These conventional numbers, particularly 12 and 84, have quite a widespread distribution throughout central India and even farther north-west in Rajasthan (Wills 1919, 213). In the largest estate of Panchet, however, the earlier systematic hierarchic arrangement has been replaced by a system of semi-military, semi-police chieftains under the direct control of the zemindar. In Patkum there used to be as late as 1897 12 Taraf divisions as we found in Barabhum.

All these zemindars, again, like the Raja of Barabhum, are great patrons of Brahmanism, through generous land grants to the Brahmans, acceptance of the ritual standards of 'Rajput Kshatriyas' under Brahman priests and are supposed to rule over their respective territories on behalf of a Brahmanical god or goddess. Worshipping the clay image of Durga is a universal feature among these zemindars as is also the observance of the Ind or Chhata festival in which an umbrella, fixed at the top of a long pole, is raised in obeisance to the royal god.

In spite of their enthusiasm for the Sanskritisation of their rituals, these zemindars continue to lend support to the worship of old tribal gods in their own territories. The chief of Baghmundi, for example, worships the tribal god Marang Buru and goddess Chuprungi as the presiding deities of the zemindar's lineage.

No information is available on the relation between clan and traditional administrative territories in the zemindaries of Manbhum, other than those of Barabhum and Baghmundi.

The resemblance to Munda type of clan-Parha organization is most marked in the case of the Raja of Baghmundi. The Baghmundi estate is today composed of five groups of villages, one of these being held directly by the zemindar himself. The other four areas as controlled by the Mankis occupy 12 villages while the zemindar, in his turn, exerts direct control over 36 villages, making a conventional total of 84 villages for the Paragannah of Baghmundi.

Each of these Mankis belongs to the Sandil (or Ubursandi) clan of the Bhumij tribe (who are also known as Munda in this area) with their respective distinct ossuaries situated within their own jurisdiction.

The Raja of Baghmundi also belongs to the Sandil clan whose ossuary lies within a mile of his headquarters. There is a tradition in the Pargannah that the four lineages of the Mankis are derived from four brothers, of whom the ancestor of the Manki of Suisa was the eldest. There is also the alternative legend that originally there were five brothers and that the Raj family is descended from the eldest brother.

As regards the tribal affiliation of these zemindars of Manbhum, the possibility of Munda or Bhumij ancestry is quite transparent in the cases of Torang, Baghmundi and other zemindaries of the Dashmahal group (Nandjee 1883). The origin of a few other estates in Manbhum, however, is not linked with the Bhumij tribe. Manbhum or Manbazar Raj is associated with the Kurmi and the estates north of the Damodar with the Bhuiya castes (Coupland 1913, chapter XI).

The Munda Raj of Chotanagpur

The case of the emergence of kingship among the Munda of Ranchi is too familiar to students of tribal ethnography of central India through the writings of Dalton (1960, 164-168) and Roy (1912, 136-140) to need an elaborate treatment here.

The Munda, who subsist principally by settled agriculture with the plough, live in the eastern half of Ranchi. The Munda society, like the Bhumij, is organized into groups of exogamous, patrilineal, totemic clans whose members live in distinct territorial clusters around the ancestral village in which the clan ossuary is located.

Traditionally it is said that the Munda socio-political organization did not stretch very far from the jurisdiction of a clan, known as Patti or Parha, except for marriage negotiations. The village had its headman, Munda, who was also often the Pahan or the priest of the village ; and the Manki was at the head of a Parha or Patti, conventionally consisting of twelve villages. The village chief, Munda, and the Manki were regarded as chiefs among equals and did not have much economic remuneration on account of holding their respective offices. It has been stated by Dalton, Risley and Roy that the kingdom of Chotanagpur came into being through an agglomeration of a number of such clan-based territorial clusters.

The exact historical origin of this Raj family is wrapped in mystery. The origin myth which has been detailed by Dalton and Roy (Roy 1912, 136-140), ascribes the origin to the union of a serpent god Pundarik Nag (in the form of a Brahman) with a Brahman girl. The latter gave birth to a child near Suitambe, a village in Ranchi District, while out on a pilgrimage with her husband from Banaras to Puri. Reared by Madra, a member of the Munda tribe who was also the Manki of a Patti, the child, who subsequently came to be known as Phani Mukut Rai, was allowed to succeed Madra in the mankiship of his Patti. Later on, all the Parha chiefs assembled to elect Phani Mukut Rai as their supreme chief or Raja. It will be noted that this origin myth, widely prevalent throughout Chotanagpur, does not entail any mass immigration of an aggressive military group displacing the authorities of the autochthones of the area. Judging from parallels elsewhere in tribal middle India, one would naturally suspect, in line with Dalton, Risley and Roy, that the myth is a rationalization, in terms of later Brahmanical elaborations connected with the Rajput myth, of the process

of internal development of Munda society towards the emergence of kingship.

The Raj family of Chotanagpur claims to be Nagvanshi Chhatris and its members perform all the necessary rituals of the 'twice-born' Rajput under the guidance of Brahman priests. The extent of patronization of Brahmans by the Raja of Chotanagpur would be apparent from the grant of nearly 134.89 square miles as privileged b r a h m o t t a r, d e b o t t a r and other b r i t grants to Brahmans (Roy 1912, Appendix xliii-xliv).

The Raja of Chotanagpur, unlike the smaller Raja of Barabhum, chose in course of time to let the more aggressive immigrant Hindus hold the bulk of service tenures or jagirs around his headquarters. This rudely disturbed the indigenous arrangement. However, in the outlying frontier tracts of Panch Pargannah, the relation with the subordinate fief-holders or zemindars continued to be of the traditional kind. These zemindari tenures are regarded as ancient as the Raj of Ranchi itself. And there is clear evidence that these zemindars like the family of the Raja, were derived from the Munda community. The internal territorial organization of Tamar closely parallels that of Barabhum in that the zemindari is divided into a descending territorial hierarchy : Zemindar—Thakur—Manki—Munda (chief of a single village). Above the Zemindar is, of course, the Raja of Chotanagpur. The chiefs of each of the above levels of territorial unit belong to a nearly endogamous social class and Brahmanic and Rajput emulations increase as one moves up the hierarchy. The chiefs of various orders in the district of Ranchi are maritally connected with similar levels of chiefs in Manbhum District : the Raja of Chotanagpur with Panchet and Ichagarh zemindars, Tamar with the Dashmahal zemindars, the Thakurs and Mankis under Tamar with the Ataisha Bhumij families of the order of Manki and Taraf Sardar.

The Gonds and their Mediaeval Kingdoms

We may now take up the case of the Dravidian-speaking Gonds who had developed, around the fourteenth and fifteenth

centuries, kingdoms of much larger extent than the Munda or Bhumij kingdoms of Chotanagpur. Numbering about four millions, they are spread thin over a large territory in central India, of whom about three millions live in the state of Madhya Pradesh. The Gonds are found at various levels of economic development and acculturation—depending upon the nature of ecological isolation—over the vast stretch of their habitat. The bulk of their population are settled cultivators who use the plough, whereas the tradition of slash and burn cultivation is still alive among the isolated Hill Marias of Bastar.

As in the case of Mundari tribes, Gond society is based on initiality localized totemic clans. These clans, unlike the Mundari clans, have a frequent tendency to cluster as phratries or even to be grouped into two exogamous moieties (Russel and Hira Lal 1916, III 62-72). Stephen Fuchs observes that the two different systems of social organization, namely, territorial and genealogical, merged. Thus the territorial unit of Garh was the same as the territorial unit of a clan or Gotra and although clans are now quite dispersed, the clan members are aware of their original Garh affiliation which guides their funeral ceremonies (Fuchs 1960, 162-163). Fuchs further remarks, 'There is little doubt that this original territorial group system of the Gond was somewhat modified in the whole of Gondwana, and gradually developed into the present *Garh* system through the influence of the Rajput soldiers and landowners domiciled in the Gond area' (ibid., 138).

According to Russel and Hira Lal (1916, III, 44-47) and Bishop Chatterton (1916, 9), the four independent Gond kingdoms arose in Gondwana 400 years ago more or less simultaneously, with capitals at Garha, Deogarh, Kherla and Chanda. These kingdoms lasted for nearly 400 years, accepting nominal suzerainty of the Moghuls during the reign of Akbar, and ultimately fell to the raids of the Marathas in the seventeenth century.

It is of interest to note that one semi-Rajput dynasty, the Kalachuri kings claiming to be of Haihaya descent reigned in the territory for more than two centuries before the Gonds

came into power. Their capital was at Tewar or Triari lying only four miles beyond Garha. The legend goes that Jadurai, the Gond hero who overthrew the Kalachuri raja, began by entering into the service of the Kalachuri rajas.

It was an important turning point in the history of the kingdom of Garha, when King Sangram Shah manipulated the marriage of his son Dalpat with Durgabati, the daughter of the Raja of Mahoba, a Chandel Rajput of high status. The battle between Durgabati and the Moghul Viceroy of Malwa, Asaf Khan, has been fully recorded by Abul Fazl, the chronicler of Akbar's reign. It is stated there that Rani Durgabati's kingdom of Garha contained as many as 70,000 villages (compare 596 in Barabhum), and the wealth on the fall of the last Gond queen can be gauged from the fact that Asaf Khan's army looted '101 cooking pots and valuable gold coins besides jewels, gold and silver plates and images of gods.' There were also 1,000 elephants.

Sleeman says about the method of government of these Gond kings, 'Under these Gond Rajas the country seems for the most part to have been distributed among feudatory chiefs, bound to attend upon the prince at his capital with a stipulated number of troops, to be employed wherever their services might be required, but to furnish little or no revenue in money. These chiefs were Gonds, and the countries they held for the support of their families and the payment of their troops and retinue little more than wild jungles···' (Russel and Hira Lal 1916, III, 41). Nevertheless, there is evidence of a certain degree of development of bureaucratized, centralized machinery cutting across the principle of sub-infeudation, in the kingdoms of Garha and Chanda, the like of which we have not come across in the much smaller kingdoms in the Bhumij and Munda countries of Chotanagpur (Wills 1919, 257-258).

It may be noted at this point that the Gond rajas, like other tribal chiefs described above, became patrons of Brahmanism and Brahmans, and we have already mentioned the evidence of their Rajput aspiration in the marriage of the Gond prince Dalpat with the Chandel princess Durgabati.

We find reflections of these complex developments in the

sphere of socio-political structure in elaborate development of the Lingo myth of creation which is recited by members of the Pradhan caste who served as minstrels of the Gonds, just as the Charans were the bards of the Rajputs of Rajputana. The Brahmanical influence on the Gond kings is evidenced in many Hindu interpolations in the original Gond tradition by associating the cult of Lingo with Mahadeva and Parvati (Russel and Hira Lal 1916, III, 48-49).

The epic songs recited by the Pradhans fall into two classes, namely, those describing the glory of the Gond rajas or Gondwani and Pandwani which is an astonishing variant of the usual stories from the *Ramayana* (Hivale 1946, 78).

Although the great Gond kingdoms perished nearly two hundred years ago, social stratification and associated aspirations to be regarded as Rajput Kshatriyas still persists. Russel and Hira Lal find two aristocratic subdivisions among the Gonds, the Raj Gonds and the Khatolas, while the Dhur Gonds or ordinary peasants are of lower status. The Raj Gonds now rank with the Hindu cultivating castes and Brahmans accept water from them. They sometimes wear the sacred thread (Russel and Hira Lal 1916, III, 63).

Stephen Fuchs finds the following four ranked strata among the Gonds of Mandla District, from the highest to the lowest : the teetotaller Deo Gonds, the Suryavansi Raj Gonds who claim to be the descendants of Rama, the Suryavansi Deogarhi (the Sun-born Gond of Deogarh) and, lastly, the Ravanvansi Gonds. The two Suryavansi Gonds are also known as Raj Gonds and assume the rank of Kshatriyas. Fuchs observes that, 'recently any wealthy Gond proprietor willing to submit to Rajput caste rules could get his family admitted into the Raj Gond community' (Fuchs 1960, 190).

We find among the Raj Gonds a reform movement started about thirty years ago, for the complete absorption of the Gonds into the Hindu fold with the rank of Kshatriyas. The pamphlets enumerating the ideology and tenets of this reform movement glorify the past cultural attainments of the Gond rajas and put the blame of the present degradation of

their status on the Ravanvansi Gonds who eat beef, sacrifice pigs and chicken and drink liquor. It is stated that if the Gonds could give up these 'low' habits they would be able to recover their old status. There also have been several cases when Brahmans invested the Gonds with the sacred thread (ibid., 191-192).

This nostalgia for past glory and involvement in the Kshatriya movement reminds us very much of the case of the Bhumij. Hivale speaks of the satisfaction that the Raj Gond landlord or Thakur derives from the poetical eulogies of the Pradhan bards, 'The Pradhans talk of the Great Gond Rajas and the noble and generous tribe of which his Thakur is such a shining example' (Hivale 1946, 50-51).

The Rajput Chieftaincies of Mediaeval and Later Chhattisgarh

Since 1905, the Chhattisgarh group of feudatory states included 14 states under the British Government. These covered an area of 30,959 sq. miles and 1,618,109 people in 1901. While the majority of the states fall between 500 and 2,000 square miles in area, there are also the bigger states of Surguja (6,055) and the Bastar (13,002). These chieftains were, in most cases, subordinate to the higher chiefs such as the Raj Gond rajas of Mandla, Deogarh or Chanda or the Haihaya Rajputs of Ratanpur. Bastar alone seems to have remained in tact from a very remote period without the territorial interference of a paramount power (De Brett 1909, 8-9).

Instead of reviewing the situation in each of the 14 states, we shall examine the position of the old kingdoms of Ratanpur and Raipur and of the remote state of Bastar. Before doing so, let us quickly reconnoitre the histories (mixed up with legends) of origin of some of the states.

Tribal connections with the lineage of the chieftains are most evident in the cases of Kawardha, Raigarh and Sakti where the Raj families are derived from the ancient Raj Gond rulers of Gondwana. It is widely believed in their respective

regions of Korea and Jashpur that the current regimes of Raksel Rajputs were preceded by tribal chieftaincies of the Kol and Dom tribes respectively. Khairagarh claims descent from the Nagavansi Raja of Chotanagpur, and is thus probably related to the Munda. Besides these cases of possible on-the-spot growth of states, there are also evidences of conquest playing an essential role in giving shape to the present form of some states. The Raksel Rajputs from Palamau are believed to have conquered Surguja from the local tribal chieftains and become overlords over Udaipur, Jashpur, Korea and Changbhakar (De Brett 1909).

Let us now examine the structure of traditional Chattisgarh in the mediaeval period under the Haihaya Rajputs. In doing this we shall depend principally on C. W. Wills' careful analysis of the available records on the old Rajput kingdoms of Ratanpur and Raipur (Wills 1919).

A powerful Rajput family belonging to the Chedi dynasty ruled at Tripuri near Jabalpur around the tenth century A.D. A descendant of this Chedi family, named Kalingaraja, settled at Tuman in modern Bilaspur District. His grandson, Ratanraja, founded Ratanpur, the then capital of Chhattisgarh. The dynasty continued to rule vigorously for some six centuries. About the fourteenth century it split into two, the elder branch continuing at Ratanpur which was still the capital of Chattisgarh, while the younger ruled as a semi-independent in Raipur. About the end of the sixteenth century, the rulers of Chattisgarh acknowledged the suzerainty of the Great Moghuls and thereafter sank into complete obscurity and were finally deposed by the Marathas around 1745 A.D. By comparing the past administrative system of the Chattisgarh rulers with those of the present chieftaincies, Wills came to discover the following symmetrical arrangements that used to guide the territorial organization in this area :

'(a) The whole country was divided into two kingdoms—a northern kingdom with capital at Ratanpur and a southern one with its capital at Raipur.

'(b) Each kingdom or Raj was subdivided into districts

known as *Garhs* or forts, conventionally supposed to be eighteen in number. The whole owed allegiance to a Rajput king.

'(c) Each district or *Garh* was conventionally supposed to contain 84 villages, whence the term *Chaurasi* is derived. It was held by a *Diwan* or *Thakur*, a local chief whose power within his territory was of the widest kind.

'(d) Inside the *Garh* were smaller units of *Taluqs* each conventionally supposed to contain 12 villages and therefore known as *Barhons.* Those were held by *Daos* or *Barhainihas,* minor chiefs......

'The *Dao* was ordinarily the Headman or *Daontia* of the village where he resided, the other village headmen of his *Taluq* being separate *Gaontias* who acknowledged his authority. Similarly the *Diwan* was the *Dao* of the particular *Taluq* in which his headquarters were situated while his outer *Taluqs* were alloted to chiefs of the second degree subordinate to him. Lastly the Raja kept under his direct control the Headquarters *Garh,* while the other *Garhs* of his Kingdom were allotted to the chiefs of the other rank. Sometimes the chiefs of *Garhs* were kinsmen of the Raja ; minor chiefs of *Taluqs* were similarly related in some cases to the lord of the *Garh,* and the *Gaontias* in their degree were sometimes related to the chief of their *Taluq...*' (Wills 1919, 199).

Wills was fully aware that the above was an 'ideal model' or a 'theory' and that it was nowhere exemplified in full detail. This ideal model for Chattisgarh tallies fairly closely with our data on chieftaincies derived from Bhumij, Munda or Gond bases. This widespread uniformity in the *ideal* model of territorial system cannot be explained away as cases of independent arrivals at the same socio-political solution. An ideal model, expressed through such conventional numbers of territorial units—12, 84, 18, etc.—must have had widespread diffusion throughout this territory. It should be mentioned here that the conventional unit c h a u r a s i (84 villages) occurred frequently in Rajasthan, the universally acclaimed headquarters of the highest order of Rajputs (Tod 1920, I, 166).

Wills finally labels the prevailing territorial arrangement in mediaeval Chhattisgarh as 'feudalism superimposed on an earlier tribal base' and finds it to be a great contrast to the old Hindu kingdoms which were essentially monarchical and bureaucratic (Wills 1919, 255-257).

We end our comparative survey with the state of Bastar, the largest member of the modern Chhattisgarh group of states. With an area of nearly 14,000 square miles it has a population of only 524,721 (in 1931), working out to a density of only 34 to the sq. mile. Out of these, nearly 75% belongs to the 'tribal' category, mostly of the Gond family, variously known in this state as Muria, Maria, Dorla and Koya.

The present ruling family of Bastar is regarded as having descended from the Kakatiyas, who were feudatories of the Chalukya kings of Warangal. Defeated by Ahmad Shah Bahmani, early in the fifteenth century, Annamdeo, the surviving brother of Raja Prataparudra, fled across the river Godavari into Bastar and set up his capital at Dantewara, by subjugating the local chieftains. It is stated that portions of Bastar under these local chiefs were already feudatories of the Kakatiyas, before the coming of Annamdeo. It is said that eighteen Garhs or Pargannahs around Baredongar in Kondagoan were conquered by the Kakatiyas of Bastar from the Somavansi Rajput raja of Kanker. One finds the ruins of an earlier and advanced Hindu civilization at Barsur and at Dantewara under a Telugu line of Nagavansi kings who ruled these areas around the eleventh century A.D. The Bastar Raj family claims descent from the Pandu King Birabhadra of Indraprastha. The legendary nature of this claim is too obvious to need further probing.

The k h a l s a or directly controlled territory of the Raja was located around Jagdalpur, the capital. This khalsa tract used to be protectively surrounded on the north, west and south by seventeen or eighteen zemindaries, among which only four survived till recent years. Of these, the Sukma zemindars are regarded as Kshatriyas, and of even greater antiquity than the Raj family of Bastar. The zemindars of Bhopalpatnam are Raj Gonds and are perhaps

also of earlier origin than the Kakatiya Raj of Bastar. In Kutru, moreover, there remain three or four sub-zemindars under the zemindars. According to Grigson, 'All these facts indicate that before Annamdeo's arrival there was a nominal suzerainty of Warangal over most of Bastar, the real authority resting with local chiefs, or in the heads of the old tribal organisation that was so marked a feature of the mediaeval kingdoms of the eastern Central Provinces and some of the Chotanagpur and the Orissa estates' (Grigson 1949, 4). In Glasfurd's report of 1862 we find that of the 43 non-zemindari subdivisions of Bastar, 17 were called Pargannahs and 26, Garhs (ibid., 33). Grigson finds a fair correspondence between the territorial unit of Pargannah and clan among the Hill Marias of Bastar (ibid., 288).

The most striking feature about the Bastar State is the completeness of interaction between the cults of the tribals and those of the Raja. The cult of the royal goddess Danteswari, Manikeswari or Maoli has spread over wide areas in Bastar, although when she is worshipped by the local tribal priests, the rituals become necessarily simple with local non-sanskritic connotations. On the occasion of the Dussehra festival it is customary for all these village priests to bring the emblems of their gods and goddesses, and to assemble these around the emblem of the royal goddess Danteswari at Jagdalpur. On the other hand, we find the tribal log-god is gaining a place of nearly equal status in the palace cult as that of Danteswari, by assuming the name Patdeo. It is in the Dussehra festival, again, that the Raja has to offer worship to Danteswari as her chief devotee, and on alternate days the goddess and the Raja are carried in a swing on a huge chariot pulled by the Maria and Muria tribals of Bastar. The Raja is practically regarded as an incarnation of Danteswari and it is believed that he rules Bastar on behalf of the goddess. Elwin mentions that the Murias believe so strongly in the divinity of the Raja that 'they greatly resent the Maharaja leaving the state even for a short time. His absence means a withdrawal of divine protection from cattle, crops and people' (Elwin 1947, 183).

The Raja's role as a regulator of social customs will be apparent when we learn that he had the authority to auction widows and divorced women of the Sundi, Kalar, Dhobi and Panar castes. The Chief also could sell the headmanship of various castes, and had the authority to upgrade the members of a low caste by conferring the sacred thread (De Brett 1909, 64-65). Being so vitally connected with the rule of Kshatriya rajas, the major tribes and castes in Bastar have been drawn into a perpetual upward drive in the direction of Kshatriyahood, a feature which has become so familiar to us through the Bhumij, Munda and Gond data. Roughly, the ethnic groups of Bastar are stratified from the highest to the lowest as follows: 'True' Rajputs, Dhakars, Halbas, Bhatras, Murias, Bison-horn Marias and Hill Marias. This list, of course, does not include a number of other tribes and castes in Bastar. (See also Majumdar 1939, 106). The Hill Marias, on settling down in the plains to the south of Abujhmarh, tend to become Plain Marias. In the vicinity of Jagdalpur Tahsil, the Bison-horn Marias wish to be identified as Murias. In the border of the Muria and the Bhatra tracts, some Murias claim to be recognized as Bhatras, while the Halbas wish to be regarded as full Kshatriyas of the status of the Raj family.

IV

DISCUSSION

We have discussed above, with a number of examples, how the various tribes of central India such as the Bhumij, Munda, and Gond have been influenced by the formation of states in their respective territories. If we had extended our enquiry into the former feudatory states of Orissa, we would have come across similar developments among the Saura, Bhuiya and Kandha.

The actual process of formation of the states, as far as could be ascertained, has taken varied courses in the different instances discussed above. Some, like the Munda Raj of Chotanagpur, the Bhumij state of Barabhum and the Raj Gond kingdoms of Gondwana, appear to have

emerged mainly through internal developments out of a tribal base. There are also cases of immigrant Rajput adventurers gaining power in the tribal tract by manoeuvring the narrow-range clan-bound tribal chieftaincies and in a few cases, even by conquest (for example, Bastar, Surguja, Jashpur and so on). There is, however, no tradition or record of large-scale invasion of the agriculturist tribal territory by aggressive nomads which could lend support to the typical 'conquest theory' of Gumplowicz or Oppenheimer which posits that invasion of peasants by hordes of herdsmen is an essential historic prerequisite to the formation of state (Oppenheimer 1914, 51-81).

Whether a particular state is primarily an internal growth or the creation of an adventurous Rajput or pseudo-Rajput lineage, the final forms of the political structure of these chieftaincies in central India look more or less alike in essential features, namely, a feudalistic superstructure on a tribal base. While the immigrant adventurous Rajputs and their associates had to adjust themselves to the in situ clan-based tribal territorial system, internal developmental processes in the tribal belt, in their turn, took the form of aspiration to meet the Rajput model (at least the version that was accessible nearby) with corresponding adaptation. The widespread prevalence of certain conventional numbers such as 12, 84 and 18, in organizing the territorial segments of a state indicates a general sharing of certain ideas throughout central India. In the absence of any definite record of large-scale southward migration of Rajputs, this unusual spread can partly be explained through the concept of 'stimulus diffusion' of an idea as defined by Kroeber (1948, 368-370).

Besides the conventional territorial system, a whole set of ideas such as the high position of the Rajput in the Varna Order of the caste system, their conventional qualities of valour, chivalry and glamour, the role of the Rajput as the defender of Brahmanism, patronization of a key symbolic festival (Dussehra, Durga Puja, and so on), have an extensive distribution as a model of social and cultural aspirations throughout central India. In specific detail, however, the

concrete Rajput models of emulation differed from area to area. We should also mention that Brahman priests in search of new clients in the growing aristocratic strata in the tribal frontiers perhaps played a more important role in the diffusion of the Rajput model, both on the sacred and secular levels, than the Rajputs themselves.

The diffusion of the Rajput model of state as also the indigenous developmental processes could gain ground only among those tribal groups like the Bhumij, Munda, Gond or Bhuiya, who had attained the technological level of settled agriculture. In no case do we find a shifting cultivating group like the Juang (Orissa), Hill Bhuiya (Orissa), Kharia (Manbhum), or the Hill Maria (Bastar) developing a kingship supported mainly by their primitive technique of cultivation.[7] On the other hand, it is also true that cultivation with the plough is not a *sufficient* condition for the formation of states from tribal bases, for example, the settled farming Ho of Kolhan and the Santal of Santal Pargannah and the neighbouring districts. Stable occupation of a particular territory for a number of generations is perhaps another essential condition for the emergence of a state in situ. There are some evidences that the Santal had to migrate fairly fast from their original homeland in Hazaribagh and have settled down in widely scattered blocks during the last two hundred years (Datta-Majumder 1956, 23). The core of the Ho area was much too rudely disturbed by internecine wars among feudatory chiefs surrounding Kolhan.

That the clan seemed to have initially demarcated the lower levels of territorial organization is fairly well borne out by the data in hand among the Munda, Bhumij and Gond, among whom the superstructure of the state looks like a coagulation of clan-based territories. However, once

[7] It is not being suggested that cultivation with plough is essential for the rise of kingship. Even slash-and-burn farming with digging stick and hoe can give rise to states if there are no plough technologies to compete with in the immediate environment (for example, the Maya, Aztec and the Inca states of Meso-America and the numerous kingdoms in Negro Africa).

the structure of the state had come into existence, the territories seemed to be regarded, from the top at least, mainly as military-administrative units, without reference to clan or caste. In the Bhumij and Munda territories, five as a conventional number is important in territoial organization. Thus there are the five Pargannahs under the Raja of Chotanagpur ; the zemindari of Panchet is also know as Pancha Khunts or the 'five stripes' and Pancha Sardari or the five Sadiyalis under the Taraf Sardars in Barabhnm. This conventional number of five is often associated with the myth that the five major segments of a state, including one originally controlled by the Raja, owe their respective origins to five ancestral brothers, among whom the most senior brother is the ancestor of the royal lineage proper.

Thus, the cases studied lend support to the theories of Maine and Morgan stating that transference of organizing principle from 'clan' to 'territory' is one of the fundamental steps in social evolution (Morgan 1878 and Maine 1888, 72-74). Links with the archaic clan organization and the principle of mythical kinship, however, still linger on with the territorial organization in these states.

As regards the over-all nature of the kingdoms or chieftaincies of central India, Wills seems to have said the last word, '...a system of feudalism superimposed on an earlier tribal organisation'. It should be noted, however, that the superstructure of Rajput model par excellence of Rajputana itself has not been regarded as strictly feudal by competent historians. A. C. Layall is of the opinion that the political system of Rajputana was essentially tribal and had not fully evolved to the state of feudalism. Nowhere, he writes, had 'military tenure entirely obliterated the original tenure by blood and birthright of the clan' and that land-tenure had not become the basis of Rajput nobility ; rather, 'their pure blood is the origin of their land tenure'. It is also stated by Layall that 'it is universally assumed in every clan of Rajputana, that the chief and the ruler of the state is only *primus inter pares*' (Layall 1875, 203-264).

It is also true that these kingdoms were very different from the early Hindu kingdoms of India in the plains of Magadha, Bengal, Orissa and so on. These latter governments were in the form of a centralized, monarchical system operating with an elaborate bureaucratic machinery of military, revenue and administrative officials. Such machinery practically did not develop at all among the tribal-derived states of central India, except to a very limited extent among the large Raj Gond kingdoms of Garha-Mandla.

The most striking and important impact of state formation on the internal structure of these tribes was, of course, the stratification of the hitherto equalitarian society into social classes. Social stratification follows mainly the lines of sub-infeudation of territorial units. On the whole, power, economy (as defined in terms of land-holding) and social status have a fairly close correlation in the regional system of stratification. However, the final validation of a status is in terms of kinship (fictitious or real), marriage alliance and ritual symbols. A poor person, related by kinship and marriage to wealthy 'Rajput' families, gains considerable prestige from the right kinds of symbolic association with the caste status of the Rajput. On the other hand, the Brahmans, who are the key social specialists in the validation of status, have been demonstrably affected by the secular lure of money and power. And this brings the status system more or less in line with the objective state of differentiation in power and economy.

If we examine the case of the Bhumij of Barabhum along with that of the Munda of Tamar, we find that both groups, after running through the equivalent lines of local hierarchy, arrive at the next higher level (Panchet-Ratu) of all-Chotanagpur Division scope. These superior Rajas of Panchet and Ratu in their turn look up to the Rajput level of the larger chiefs of Orissa and Chhattisgarh. These latter Rajput aristocracies are aware that still higher status is accorded to some of the Rajput clans like the Suryavansi Sesodiyas of Mewar, Rajputana, on an all-India level. It should not be imagined, however, that there is a

neatly worked out and universally agreed upon status hierarchy for the Rajputs all over India, or even within central India as a whole. We are not concerned here with the numerous competing claims for relative high caste status within the Rajput stratum among these kingdoms. Over and above these details of status controversies there is a certain degree of general consensus among the 'Rajput' feudatory states and zemindari states of central India as to the relative status of the various royal lineages tied in fairly stable clusters and classes of marriage alliances. Most of these look up to the Rajput princes of the Solar and Lunar branches in Rajputana as belonging to the highest order of Kshatriyahood. Tod writes, 'From Rama all the tribes termed Suryavansa, or "Race of the Sun", claim descent as the present princes of Mewar, Marwar and Bikaner and their numerous clans; while from the Lunar (Indu) line of Budha and Krishna, the families of Jaisalmer and Cutch...extending throughout the Indian desert from the Sutlej to the ocean, deduce their pedigrees' (Tod 1920, 55).

In other words, there is a hierarchic structural and ideological (mythical) link between the ordinary tribal Munda, Bhumij or Gond farmers of central India and the Rajputs of the highest order in north-western India. The myth of the Rajput standard of living and the structural framework of states ruled by Rajpnt and pseudo-Rajput lineages of various orders connects the tribal belt of central India in a special way to the main stream of Hindu civilization and its core of sacred lore in the form of epics and *puranas*.

The way in which tbe upper strata of the tribal groups described above have been drawn to the generic Kshatriya-Rajput pool is perhaps not much different from the way in which the bulk of the now most highly esteemed Rajputs of Rajputana had been drawn into the Kshatriya fold from the original invading stocks of tribal Hunas around the sixth century A. D.

'Probably it would be safe to affirm that all the distinguished clan-castes of Rajasthan are descended mainly

from foreigners, the "Scythians" of Tod. The upper ranks of the invading hordes of Hunas, Gurjaras, Maitrakas, and the rest became Rajput clans...

'Such clan-castes of foreign descent are the proud and the chivalrous Sisodiyas or Guhilots of Mewar' (Smith 1958, 191).

It is more or less the same way that the great builders of Khajraho temples emerged as Rajput Kshatriyas of Chandel clans out of a tribal base (ibid., 191).

As to the cultural role of these states, they have not only propagated the standard Brahmanic socio-ritual forms, but have also universalized the local tribal cults to a grand level of elaboration, providing a rich regional flavour to the cultural pattern of a kingdom.

Our presentation so far may suggest a much too smooth on-going process inevitably leading the tribes to the Rajput fold. There have been occasional and significant setbacks and reversals to this generic process. Navalakha's observations on the Bhils of Banswara who were organized under indigenous chieftaincies, may be cited in this connection. The Bhils of Banswara were finally subjugated by the Guhil Rajputs during the 18th century. The Bhils largely retired to the hilly and wooded interiors to escape the aggressive conquerors. 'The Bhils who escaped to the geographically inhospitable interiors were motivated by their urge to preserve independence; but their political structure was shattered and they were politically disintegrated... The Bhils eventually retreated to a comparative seclusion beyond the reach of the alien peoples and particularly of the arms of the state authority' (Navalakha 1959, 37-38).

It should be made clear at this point that the tribals at the lower rungs of social hierarchy were only feebly touched by the aspiration for identification as Rajput-Kshatriyas. Their poor economic position, more than any other factor, virtually ruled out the possibility of ever realizing the status of Rajput for which it is essential to 'purchase' the ritual service of Brahmans of the right kind. There is also the fact that the Rajputized chieftains used to maintain a

fairly close control, over the inter-ethnic rank hierarchy in their respective territories. The various castes and tribes, in their turn, were ever watchful over possible supercession of rank claims by the groups which were traditionally considered relatively low. This partially explains the fact that the tribes and castes living within the territory of a Rajputized chieftain were able to maintain their respective ethnic identities through the centuries instead of rapidly melting into monolithic Rajput affiliation. Thus, while the emergent state structure facilitated the upper hierarchies to attain Rajput status, the power of the same structure was directed, to a considerable extent, toward *inhibiting the realization* of similar aspiration by commoners. However, even the lower strata of the tribal population were not immune to the percolation of Rajput aspiration primarily generated at the aristrocratic level. In appropriate moments, especially with the over-arching watchful state structures disintegrated, these latent aspirations found expressions in periodic social mobility movements of the masses such as the Bhumij-Kshatriya Movement in Manbhum.

Although this paper has emphasized the positive role of the state in integrating the tribals with the Hindu social system, it should also be noted that unwise oppressive policies followed by some of these chieftains occasionally hindered, or even reversed, the process. The Rajas of Chotanagpur leased out to aggressive Hindu immigrants a large portion of their central domain, between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This was done for immediate economic gain by dispossessing a good number of Munda headmen and Khuntkatti tenants. Such alienation of the sacred ancestral lands, combined with grievances against the ruthless manouvres of the Hindu money-lenders gave rise to repeated agrarian revolts between 1800 and 1900 (Roy 1912, 182-353). These uprisings were directed mainly against the upper caste Hindu immigrants and today form an essential component of the folk songs and the historic legends of the Munda. As a result, in spite of their progressive integration with Hindu socity

and culture, the Munda, in common with many other Kolarian tribes of Chotanagpur, maintain a residual feeling of separation and antagonism about the Hindu D i k u (foreigners). This latter sentiment has been conveniently utilized by a section of the tribal leaders in Chotanagpur in building up the separatist pan-tribal Jharkhand movement.

It should be also pointed out here that Hinduization of the tribes has not been implemented through the structural medium of the states alone ; a good deal of it has been achieved through the spontaneous interaction of the Hindu artisan, cultivator and sacerdotal castes with the tribals, and this has not been covered in this paper.

We have so far viewed the tribals in the orthogenetic phase[8] of growth, spread and persistence of the traditional civilization of India. The tribes were moving up in terms of established social mechanism and towards goals clearly defined in terms of ideational and behavioral standards. With the merger of the feudatory chieftaincies, abolition of zemindaries and rapid encroachment of tribal life by the secular non-Brahmanical policy of the 'welfare state' of India, the image of the 'Rajput' has been fast losing its glitter in the face of many concrete advantages received from the Government on account of the 'low' tribal affiliation.

It is no wonder that in the last meeting of the Bhumij Kshatriyas I attended in 1958, little enthusiasm was observed for being recognized as Rajputs or for quoting Sanskrit texts in support of such claims. The concern was more for gaining some footing in the coming General Eelection and for competing with the hard-headed Mahato in education and economic prosperity (Sinha 1959, 28-32).

With the unfulfilled craze for Rajput recognition still lurking in their hearts and a residue of the broken landed aristocracy yet remaining in their midst, the Bhumij and the

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[8] See Robert Redfield and Milton Singer, 'The Cultural Role of Cities,' *Economic Development and Cultural Change* (Research Center in Economic Development and Cultural Change, University of Chicago), volume 3 (1954), number 1, pp. 53-73. Reprinted in *Man in India*, volume 36 (1956), number 3, pp. 161-194.

Raj Gonds find it hard to adjust themselves to the current secular demands made upon them. These Hinduized tribals, in their aristocratic vacillations, stand to a distinct disadvantage in relation to the less Hinduized groups, such as the Ho, Santal, sections of the Munda and the Gond and so on, who are building up the Adivasi movement with secular goals, with a great feeling for the future.

We are not assuming that the general process of intergration into Hindu society will come to an end with the shattering of the state structures of great historic depth. The fact of 'state formation' has already achieved the historic task of speeding up the dissemination of Brahmanical standards and of synthesizing the latter and the tribal cults. The tribes and the Hindus already share too many common elements and there exists today too wide a range of contact between the tribes of central India and the Hindu castes on the economic and administrative planes to facilitate the tempo of integration with Hindu society. The steps through which the new (heterogenetic ?) phase of integrative processes moves on remains to be investigated.

This inadequately documented and somewhat speculative and cursory essay has been attempted mainly with a view to attracting the attention of my colleagues in the field of tribal ethnography to fill in the major gaps in my presentation on the tribe-Rajput continuum in relation to the general study of Indian civilization. This is also a pointer to the fact that tribes should be studied not only as ethnic isolates interacting with other ethnic groups, but also within a wide spatial framework such as a Pargannah, Garh or kingdom which has considerable historic continuity. This essay is also intended to stimulate an awareness in the research worker of the distinct orthogenetic and heterogenetic phases in the study of cultural transformation in tribal India.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Hindu Society—An Interpretation. *By Irawati Karve. Pp. XI+111. Deccan College, Poona. 1961. Rs. 10.*

Professor Irawati Karve has written an important book. As she says, it is based upon twenty years of field-work coupled with reading and long thinking upon the nature of Indian society.

Dr. Karve looks upon castes as an 'agglomerative society' in which there are two distinguishable elements, one of which, in her opinion, was contributed by pre-Aryan and another by Aryan civilization. It would be best to allow the author herself to present the case. She says: 'The *jati* organization or something very like it was in existence in India for a long time......even prior to the coming in of the Aryans. The *varna* organization belonged to the society which brought the Vedas to India. In the course of time the *varna* system was modified and the *varna* and *jati* systems were interwoven together to form a very elaborate ranking system' (p. 47). 'Through this formulation......the two separate societies came to be represented as one society' (p. 78).

According to the author, the philosophical system devised by Hindus was a superstructure built to re-affirm and perpetuate the agglomeration which had taken place at the social level. The need of repaying several debts to the *pitris*, etc., the need of performing selflessly the duties assigned to one under caste, through which one could aspire to the acquirement of the highest merit and liberation by union with *Brahman*, were intellectual or moral mechanisms meant for the above purpose.

The author draws upon her extensive reading of European history, and shows by contrast how caste society was centred not round the king but the self-sufficient locality or *graman*. Interlacing castes preserved their political independence and the king left them free so long as taxes were paid. This abrogation of authority by the king gave the system an extraordinary measure of viability. In the author's words, again, 'This type of organization is comparable to the organization of the worm's body which is made up of semi-independent segments. If a segment is cut off the rest of the worm goes on living' (p. 128).

After having thus presented her ideas on the nature of caste-society, Dr. Karve ends the book with a chapter entitled 'The Present and the Future'. In these last pages, she indicates some of the more serious problems facing India today. In her opinion, India does not present a parallel with any other country like, say, Japan or Switzerland or even Russia. What may be desirable or applicable in the case of the above in terms of national unification may be entirely inapplicable in the case of India. She then ends by suggesting certain measures by means of which unity may be preserved on the basis of the *promotion of a quantum of regional* autonomy.

One need not be immediately concerned about the recommendations in the last chapter ; but it would be worth while to confine ourselves to two important questions raised by the author's thesis. One is, whether *jati* is really a contribution of a pre-Aryan culture or not. The author clearly suggests it is ; but one may perhaps be permitted to state that the evidence furnished is not sufficient. There is an alternative suggestion, namely, that the *varna* system arose on account of the needs of bringing order out of a welter of conflicting *jatis*. And the *jatis* had not necessarily an isolable, tribalistic character from the beginning, i.e. before their incorporation into *varna*-dominated society. Some of them may have resulted from the fission of single communities into several on account of the opportunities of local economic adaptation. Incorporation went on hand in hand with fission ; and all such groups, which might be labelled as *jatis*, became strung into a society in which the ideal was to reduce the multiplicity into a simplified and unified Four-Order System. In some cases, *jatis* were undoubtedly tribal in origin. But when entry to occupational guilds was progressively made more and more dependent on birth, each occupational specialization gave rise to an endogamous caste or *jati*. The *jati*-structure need not necessarily be regarded as a carry-over from a 'tribal', 'non-Aryan' civilization, but it may equally—or perhaps better—be regarded as a feature which progressively became a special characteristic of Hindu society when the needs of incorporation into a federal structure (both socially as well as culturally) became increasingly operative.

This observation of the reviewer is, however, no more than a modification suggested in Dr. Karve's thesis. But there is another

point where one may even fail to agree with the latter. There is no doubt that an intellectual superstructure helped to fortify and perpetuate the *varna* system. But this was a social philosophy at a much lower level than that which gave birth to the concept of *Brahman*. When the latter concept is fully realized in life's experience, the trappings of culture are likely to be cast aside ; and caste-structured society may find it impossible to draw sustenance from it. In other words, the concept of that ultimate state of realization, denoted by *Moksha* among Hindus and *Nirvana* among Buddhist, may verily lead to the cessation of cultures, whether they are Indian or even non-Indian in origin.

To consider the concept of selfless devotion to a set of social duties which eventually leads to *Brahman* as a means of fortifying caste-structured society, is therefore perhaps not quite right. It is true, Dr. Karve has tried to prove her point by means of number of tales gleaned from India's sacred literature and by a reference to some verses in the *Gita*. But there are other, and perhaps far more numerous tales which tend to show that the quest of what has been termed as *Brahman* may lead to a complete negation of such duties as alone are likely to perpetuate the Hindu social system. The example of Sukdeva, the son of Vyasa, is a case in point. Raja Rammohan Roy and Swami Vivekananda also professed the highest ideals of Hinduism as incorporated in the Vedanta, and both made this as the basis, not of reinstatement of society as under caste, but of reform in which the incorporation of elements from the West was positively encouraged. It may therefore be argued that the philosophy of Hinduism does not necessarily furnish a base for one kind of society alone. It reaches an independence which makes room for the establishment of other forms of society and culture as well.

In any case, whether one agrees or does not agree with all the views of Dr. Karve, her general thesis is substantially sound ; and we are happy that she has been able to present the scholarly world with a deeply thought-provoking essay.

N. K. Bose

The Sacred Complex in Hindu Gaya. *By L. P. Vidyarthi. 1961. Asia Publishing House, Calcutta. XXIV + 232. Rupees Twelve only.*

Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi has tried to strike a new note in India

social anthropology. He has picked up one of the sacred institutions of the Hindus which is not only clothed with ritual significance but is also *intimately related to the Hindu's association* with the departed. Gaya is a famous pilgrimage in Bihar to which people resort from all parts of India in order to perform prescribed funerary ceremonies. A geographically well-marked areas is held sacred, while there are attached areas of subsidiary ritual importance. A class of priests has sprung up here to serve the needs of visiting pilgrims.

Dr. Vidyarthi has taken a detailed census of the priests, and tried to describe how their functions have varied in course of history. Priestcraft incorporates here not only elements of high Hindu religion but also those derived from more restricted 'folk'-cults. The priests of Gaya subscribe to certain values ; but history tells us that they have not always remained steady in their adherence. Wealth has exercised its temptations, and conspicuous ostentation has been followed by decline in morals.

Certain historical facts have been utilized by the author in course of his analysis. But his main reliance has been on the questionnaire method supplemented by copious observation. As a result, there emerges a satisfactory picture of Hindu ritualism as it functions at the levels of social operation and religious beliefs.

In one of the appendices, there is presented a series of seven autobiographies of Gayawals, as these have emerged in course of Dr. Vidyarthi's prolonged interviews. The biographies have not been woven into the texture of his main picture ; but form a supplement helpful in explaining how life has undergone changes in recent times. As such, they form an independent material of great interest.

While closely reading the book, one is likely to gather the impression that the work was done in parts, and then woven into a whole. Consequently, *there is a faint lack of cohesion*. Facts stand out a little more obstreperously than the inward relation which binds them together. As the facts, however, are meaningful, and as they are of an original nature in Indian anthropology, we are hopeful that the author's present work will open up further ways of understanding Hindu civilization for which an anthropologist is perhaps better fitted than mere historians.

N. K. Bose

Bihar Ke Adivasi : Socio-Cultural Studies. *Edited by Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi in collaboration with Dr. D. N. Majumdar, Prof. Sachchidananda and Sri Jagadish Trigunait, College Centre, Patna-4. Price Rs 7.50.*

We have just received a fascinating book on the tribes of Bihar written in Hindi which covers almost all aspects of tribal culture in Bihar. The book is divided into three parts, each containing several chapters written by authorities on the respective topics.

The first part consisting of four chapters, presents a general coverage about the life, culture, racial affinity and characteristics of the folklore of tribal societies of India. In the first two chapters Dr. L. P. Vidyarthi sums up the economic, social, religious and other cultural characteristics of the Adivasis of Bihar and reviews the researches done on them. He refers to some of the important areas for investigations which so far have been overlooked. In the third chapter, Prof. A. B. Saran has collected materials regarding the physical measurements and blood-group types of the important Adivasis of Bihar and throws light on their racial affinity. In the fourth chapter, Sri Jagadish Trigunait has brought out the characteristics of Adivasi folklore and art and has made references to their relationship to larger culture.

The second part consists of seven chapters on seven different tribes of Bihar, namely, Santhal, Oraon, Munda, Ho, Kharia, Paharia and Birhor. All these chapters have been written by persons who have worked personally on each tribe.

The third part consists of two chapters on tribal policy and tribal welfare schemes. In the first chapter Prof. D. N. Majumdar of Lucknow University highlights the general problems of the tribes and discusses the philosophical and scientific aspects of the Adivasi problem. In the second chapter Sri K. K. Leuva, Assistant Commissioner of Schedualed Tribes, gives us an outline of the welfare work that is being carried out by the Central and State Government in the tribal areas of Bihar.

The fourth part consists of five appendices which give more information regarding tribal culture and their studies. In the first appendix and introductory note on all the scheduled tribes of Bihar has been given by Prof. D. P. Sinha. In the second a note on the languages and linguistic affinities of the tribes has been outlined.

The other three appendics give an exhaustive bibliography of the tribes of Bihar, a glossary of technical terms and index of the topics discussed in the book.

The book has a scholarly foreword by Sri R. R. Diwakar, Ex-Governor of Bihar who deals with the origin of man and his culture and the roles that Anthropology can play in studying them.

Such a book written in Hindi will definitely go a long way in minimizing the ignorance of the general people about Adivasi culture.

B. N. Sahay

Bulletin of the Bihar Tribal Research Institute. *Vol. II. No. I, 1960. Ranchi. Price Rs* 5.

This is the second bulletin of T. R. I. Bihar since its establishment and heralds its success : slow and steady wins the race. Nevertheless, the maxim does not apply here as it suffers in quality and vivid presentation and interpretation of of the situation and problems. Here the bulletin seems to be shy in scientific and academic qualification. However, the bulletin owes its worth for the valuable materials in whatsoever forms it contains.

K. Kerketta

"The Menarche in Bengalee Hindu Girls" Published in the **Journal of the Indian Medical Association,** *vol. 37. no. 4, pp. 261-270* by Dr D. Banerjee and Shri S. P. Mukherjee is a good article. A condensed review of previous articles on this subject would be a great help to the student in this field. The sample of course is not large and elaborate statistical treatment was not much needed. But the authors have no bias and have kept an open mind which is unfortunately not often met with in this type of research. Their article clearly points out the necessity of a wide-scale investigation on this subject before anything definite could be said. Articles of of this type are welcome in the field of fertility study.

U. Guha

Descriptive Ethnology of Bengal. *By E. T. Dalton Pp. 376 + xxxvii plates. Rs. 35.00.*

The Antiquities of Orissa. *Vol. 1. By Rajendralala Mitra. Pp. 251 + xxxvi plates. Rs. 35.00.*

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All the above are reprints from *Indian Studies : Past and Present*, 3 Shambunath Pandit Street, Calcutta—20. Distributors : Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyaya, 6/1 A Banchharam Akrur Lane, Calcutta—12.

Scholars all over the would will feel a deep debt of gratitude to the Editor of *Indian Studies : Past and Present* for the excellent work which he has been doing in connection with books on Indology. Many scholarly treatise have been out of print for decades ; some are in French or German, and so not readily utilizable by the average Indian reader. And all these are being reprinted in the journal named above.

The journal has also printed new contributions, which an ordinary publisher would often hesitate to undertake. The printing is excellent, and the format is also handy ; the price of the journal itself is extremely moderate.

One will only hope that many a scholar who has often dreamt of possessing a 'personal' copy of a book like Dalton or Mitra will feel happy that it has now come within reach of his 'purse'. These reprints made available through the courtesy of the Editor deserve wide popularity.

N. K. Bose

Statement about ownership and other particulars about newspaper *Man in India* to be published in the first issue every year after the last day of February.

FORM IV

(See Rule 8)

1. Place of Publication—Sakti Press, 27/3-B Hari Ghosh Street, Calcutta-6.
2. Periodicity of its publication—Quarterly.
3. Printer's Name—Ajit Kumar Bose.
   Nationality—Indian.
   Address—27/3-B Hari Ghosh Street, Calcutta-6.
4. Publisher's Name—Nirmal Chandra Sarkar.
   Nationality—Indian.
   Address—18 Church Road, Ranchi (Bihar), S. E. Ry.
5. Editor's Name—Nirmal Kumar Bose, M. Sc., F. N. I.
   Nationality—Indian.
   Address—37-A Bosepara Lane, Calcutta-3.
6. Name and address of individuals who own the newspaper and partners or shareholders holding more than one percent of the total capital. — Srimati Sudhangsu Lajini Roy, Life Estate, According to Will and Partition Decree. 18 Church Road, Ranchi (Bihar).

I, N. C. Sarkar, hereby declare that the particulars given above are true to the best of my knowledge and belief.

Dated, 8th February, 1961

Signature of
Publisher—Nirmal Ch. Sarkar

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